

ISSN 2651-8988

# Journal of Vampire Studies

**Volume 3 • 2023**

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Andrew M. Boylan, *Assistant Editor*

## Advisory Board

*See inside front cover.*

*Journal of Vampire Studies*, Volume 3

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ISSN: 2651-8988

ISBN: 978-0-6452034-3-1

Published annually on behalf of the Vampire Studies Association (ABN 96 775 755 325), PO Box 3005, Syndal, VIC 3149. For more information about the VSA, visit <https://vampirestudies.org>.

Anthony Hogg, *President*

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**Subscription Information:** Not currently available, but under consideration.

**Correspondence:** For all business and editorial correspondence, email Anthony Hogg at [thevampirelogist@gmail.com](mailto:thevampirelogist@gmail.com). State purpose of contact in subject line.

**Disclaimer:** The views and opinions expressed by contributors are those of the respective authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the journal, its editorial board, or the publishing entity. All contributors take full legal responsibility for their work.

**Submission Fee:** No submission fees are charged for manuscript submissions.

**Indexing:** Content indexed in MLA International Bibliography.

**Advertising Policy:** Limited space available for advertising. Only non-fiction vampire books, periodicals, conferences, lectures and courses will be considered.

**Information for Authors:** Please refer to Notes for Contributors in this issue for editorial policy, submission guidelines, and formatting instructions for manuscript submissions.

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# Editorial

## Message from the President/Editor

This has been an interesting year for vampire studies. The Lord Ruthven Assembly did not dispense an award for vampire non-fiction, fiction or media as it has done for most of its thirty-five years of existence. LRA president, Amanda Firestone, explained: “The LRA paused our awards for 2022 in order to re-evaluate how candidates are selected and voting procedures are conducted. We intend to ‘double up’ for next year’s presentation at ICFA [International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts] 45.”<sup>1</sup>

On the flipside, Simon Bacon’s *Palgrave Handbook of Vampires*—a “living reference work”—has been cranking out regular entries online in anticipation of the collection’s print publication next year. Bacon, one of the most prolific vampire scholars I’ve ever encountered, has also been working on another project which he discusses in this journal.<sup>2</sup> I was only half-joking when I said he “is almost singlehandedly propping up the vampire studies field.”<sup>3</sup>

This year also marks the fifth anniversary of the Vampire Studies Association’s founding. I started the association “to establish vampire studies as a multidisciplinary field by promoting, disseminating and publishing contributions to vampire scholarship.”<sup>4</sup> That mission hasn’t been honed as much as I’d like, but I believe our journal stands as “a central platform for exclusive research findings, critical analysis, discussion and debate, covering all areas of vampire studies.”<sup>5</sup> Indeed, apart from its

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1. Mike Glycer, “Pixel Scroll 3/20/23 They’re Coming to Scroll Me Away, to the Pixel Farm, Where Life Is Beautiful All the Time,” *File770.com* (blog), March 20, 2023, <https://file770.com/pixel-scroll-3-20-23-theyre-coming-to-scroll-me-away-to-the-pixel-farm-where-life-is-beautiful-all-the-time/>. Firestone is a recent recruit to our Advisory Board. In the interests of further disclosure, I’m an admin of the LRA’s Facebook group (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/lordruthvenassembly>) and page (<https://www.facebook.com/lordruthvenassembly>), but I’m not an official member of the organisation.
  2. Bacon, “Why the Book Series, Vampire Studies: New Perspectives on the Undead, Is Long Overdue,” *Journal of Vampire Studies* 3 (2023): 87–90.
  3. Hogg [Vampire Studies Association], “Simon is almost singlehandedly propping up the vampire studies field.—AH,” Facebook, November 24, 2023, <https://facebook.com/vampirestudies/posts/670680608505666>. Simon has been a member of the journal’s Advisory Board since the first issue. I am also the admin/creator of his website: <https://simonjbacon.wordpress.com/>.
  4. Vampire Studies Association, Association Rules, October 31, 2018, r. 4.1(i). For further elaboration, see Anthony Hogg, “Introduction to the *Journal of Vampire Studies*,” editorial, *Journal of Vampire Studies* 1, no. 1 (2020): 1. The concept was inspired by the epistemological underpinnings I noticed in the adjacent Buffy studies field. See Hogg, “Thoughts on Vampirology and Vampire Studies,” *Journal of Vampire Studies* 3 (2023): 130–32.
  5. To be fair, competition remains thin. The Transylvanian Society of Dracula’s annual *Journal of Dracula Studies* (1999–) is still being published, but *L’Upir* (2004–2017?), the e-journal published by Cercle-V, is no longer available online.

networking opportunities and a shared interest in vampire studies, the association was essentially founded as a “front” for the journal; I had already been requesting contributions about a year before (the first issue was actually published in 2020).

Perhaps the journal’s biggest upheaval in that timeframe has been its switch from biannual to annual publication, commencing with this issue. The move was inspired by the association’s former Operations Co-Ordinator, Erin Chapman:

Having one issue cuts down on costs, editing time, and gives the association more time to focus on administrative tasks regarding growth and development that are lacking. One issue, also builds a momentum and gives members something to look forward to annually as opposed to over saturating. I think having only one issue per year is a more efficient way to run the association. The length of the journal is also not set in stone. Planning should be done proactively in regards to generating content. Always keep an eye on the future issue and have content for the next journal. This will help with planning. Having a journal of 144 pages twice a year is a lot for the editing team to complete. A more manageable plan should be put in place.<sup>6</sup>

The dual role of president and editor has certainly had an impact on running the association,<sup>7</sup> but having more time to develop the journal has also burdened me with another problem: an identity crisis. Essentially, I’m not sure of the specific format the journal should take.<sup>8</sup> Until that’s resolved, I will discuss several formatting decisions made in the interim. I will also take the opportunity to provide updates on proposed changes discussed in the previous issue<sup>9</sup> and new goals to pursue.

## Formatting

### Quotes

*Italicised text, ellipses, square brackets.* Quoted text in which the author has added emphasis usually accompanied by an “italics in the original” or similar note, will no longer be mentioned as quotes should be direct transcriptions by default. However, if the author added emphasis to the quote, notes like “my italics” will be added.

Conversely, an “ellipses in the original” note will be added if they appear in a quote as ellipses are usually inserted by authors or editors to denote omitted text from quotes. Usually, we enclose these ellipses point inserts with square brackets. No

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6. Chapman, “Operations Coordinator’s Report” (unpublished manuscript, October 24, 2021), 1–2, Microsoft Word file. I read the report on her behalf at the association’s third annual general meeting (AGM) on November 14, 2021.

7. I did not hold an AGM in 2020 or 2022 because I was too distracted with editing the journal, personal life events, malaise and not being in the right head space to prep material necessary for the meetings. But I am pleased to report our fourth AGM did go ahead as scheduled on October 31, 2023.

8. See Anthony Hogg, “Format Possibilities for the *Journal of Vampire Studies*,” *Journal of Vampire Studies* 3 (2023): 133–52.

9. Hogg, “Changes and Goals for the Journal,” editorial, *Journal of Vampire Studies* 2, no. 2 (2022): 141–42. One of the items, publication frequency, has now been addressed.



more. Similarly, “square brackets in the original” will be added to text that includes them in the original text, as this practice is also usually reserved for authors and editors adding additional information to the original text.

## Page range abbreviations

Now in alignment with the *Chicago Manual of Style* standards.<sup>10</sup>

## Book review formats

We will no longer mention other formats available of books reviewed; the information provided will refer specifically to the edition reviewed. I will also omit the currency country from pricing, as the default price listed is the publisher’s price (usually from their own website).

## Layout

The switch from biannual to annual release is accompanied by loads of design tweaks and a more sophisticated (and slightly lengthier) layout, largely inspired by annual journals published by (or on behalf of) literary societies. In that spirit, I’ve also swapped our main font from Palatino Linotype to Constantia; a move inspired by a blog post on recommended thesis fonts.<sup>11</sup> Let us know what you think about the new look.

## Proposed Changes Updates

### Advisory board and editorial board

I’ve beefed up our Advisory Board, boosting membership from eight to thirty-three. My initial focus was vampire educators (as a potential journal demographic), but I expanded the search to scholars with significant works in the field.

Moving forward, board members will now serve a two-year term which they can renew should they wish to. They may also drop out at any time. This policy will help ensure greater commitment and engagement with the journal, not to mention greater interaction on my part. The main way this engagement will be achieved is through adding them to an online mailing list, then soliciting feedback via

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10. *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 9.61.

11. Janene Carey, “What Font Should I Choose for My Thesis?” *Thesis Whisperer* (blog), March 30, 2016, <https://thesiswhisperer.com/2016/03/30/what-font-should-i-choose-for-my-thesis/>. However, I could not follow through with using Calibri for headings; it just didn’t look right. Speaking of fonts, if you’d like to know what our previous cover title was rendered in, it was Candara.

newsletter-like posts (if not an actual Advisory Board newsletter).

I have not yet expanded our Editorial Board, but I am still giving that due consideration.

## Subscriptions

Pricing remains a big issue to me as I am deeply invested in the journal's affordability. At present, the most affordable way of obtaining journal issues is inputting each issue's ISBN in price comparison sites like AddALL (<https://www.addall.com/>), BookFinder (<https://www.bookfinder.com/>), Booko (<https://booko.com.au>), etc., then purchasing the cheapest copy. That said, a way around this might be providing a discounted rate for subscribers and even ordering copies for them directly through the printing service I use. The problem is, prices fluctuate and currencies vary immensely; I prefer a nice, easy "set" price for subscriptions as we are a small operational not a major outlet. Nonetheless, I will keep investigating this option.

## More indexing

I can disclose that a major database group has not only expressed interest in indexing the journal, but hosting content too. We are currently in discussions and I will pursue that option further in the new year. I will also continue seeking out other indexers to ensure greater awareness of our content.

## Open access

Hosting is a complex topic. I have not yet committed to any specific hosting database, or hosting it myself just yet; the requirements, time and money behind it makes me reluctant.

We currently publish content under a Creative Commons licence that allows material to be shared and distributed relatively easily. For example, contributors are entitled to host their contributions on any site they see fit, as long as proper credit is given under the licensing terms. That said, when it comes to full access, I have reservations.

My preference has evolved into an at least year-long embargo on hosting content so those who've paid for print copies of the journal get some sort of exclusivity as part of their purchase.<sup>12</sup> I'm still open to supplying content directly to scholars, though. This matter will be revisited.

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12. On February 9 earlier this year, I had an online meeting with an Informit (<https://search.informit.org/>) representative about hosting content. I was interested until I found out they didn't have an option to embargo content, but was being considered as a possibility.

## New Goals

### Contributor guidelines rewrite

Certain issues have arisen during editing (notably on our primary sources policy) which will be addressed in significantly revised contributor guidelines in the next issue. As a sort-of preview, I've had a go at rewriting the current guidelines and published them inside this issue (check out our "Notes for Contributors" section); previous versions were inside the back cover.

### Improved editorial standards

Timeliness is a weak spot for me; but time management isn't the sole issue. I put *a lot* of work into editing. But that doesn't mean contributors should be kept waiting too long. I resolve to improve the response time for edits.

I also need to consistently apply the same editorial scrutiny I impose on contributors to myself. For instance, I record submission dates for drafts but not usually for those I write. Instead, I take more of an ad hoc approach to my submissions, writing and editing them on the fly (especially as publication deadlines loom). You can probably even tell the same thing's happened with this editorial. So, from the next issue, I will consistently submit my contributions to the drafting process, via our Assistant Editor.

This move will be part of a broader effort to bring the journal into alignment with guidelines mentioned in the first issue.<sup>13</sup>

### Section revaluations

I would like to sharpen our sections and develop others. For instance, I would like to include sections for reader feedback and/or responses to articles. Our closest analogue is the Rejoinders published in previous issues. Commencing with the next issue, I am establishing Letters to the Editor (for general reader feedback/queries) and Comments, which are direct responses to contributions published in the journal be they articles, reviews, etc. Comments will replace our Rejoinders section. Unlike Rejoinders, they are open to anyone, not just the person/s addressed. Contributions to these sections will undergo the usual editing and publication process.

### Media coverage

We publish a lot of great content which deserves more attention. The best way to get

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13. Hogg, "Introduction to the *Journal of Vampire Studies*," editorial, *Journal of Vampire Studies* 1, no. 1 (2020): 3.

more attention is media coverage. During the association's fourth AGM,<sup>14</sup> I mentioned developing a press area behind the scenes on our website. Creating press releases will be on the agenda for the coming year. I will not do this for all content, but the items I think will more likely grab press interest.

For more insight into future plans for the journal, see the diary published in this issue.<sup>15</sup>

### *Thank You*

Last, but not least, I would like to extend a thank you not only to our readers but those who've stayed the course since our association's founding. Thank you, Catherine "Cat" Bonacci-Rocca, Andrew M. Boylan, Gabrielle Clark and Joanne Hogg. Thank you to our newer recruits and those who've come and gone (special mention to Erin Chapman whose feedback has been invaluable). All are appreciated. Big things await. Watch this space.

ANTHONY HOGG  
*Editor*

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14. See note 7 above.

15. Hogg, Format Possibilities," 133–52.

# A Tour through *Dracula's* Transylvania

PAUL MURRAY

*Independent scholar, Ireland*

**ABSTRACT:** The reality of 1890s Transylvania is contrasted with its depiction in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. A 2019 tour of Transylvania by the author, augmented by a variety of primary and secondary sources, reveals a land then undergoing economic transformation, far removed from the backwardness and superstition of Stoker's imagination. Deconstruction of efforts to pinpoint the whereabouts of Dracula's Castle illuminates Stoker's aim of providing a magical location for a nightmare fairy-tale, not a discoverable, exact location.

**KEYWORDS:** Transylvania · Bram Stoker · Dracula · Gothic setting · historical reality

I first visited Transylvania in 2005, the year after my Bram Stoker biography was published.<sup>1</sup> At the time, I was engaged in the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs with the enlargement of the European Union. I took the opportunity of official travel to Romania, then a candidate for EU membership, to visit Lake Snagov, where Vlad Dracula was reputedly buried, and Sighișoara, his birthplace, as well as Bran Castle, a centre of Dracula-related tourism even if any connection with Stoker's Count is tenuous at best.<sup>2</sup> I did not, however, have the time to travel further north to Bistrița, the town closest to Castle Dracula in Stoker's novel and this remained an unfulfilled ambition. The same year, my professional duties also took me to Turkey, source of Count Dracula's imagined antagonists, as well as to Bulgaria, also then a candidate for EU membership; its origins as a modern state went back to the Russo-Turkish War (1877–78), in which Bram's surgeon brother, George Stoker, saw service with the Red Crescent Ambulance.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Murray, *Shadow of "Dracula": A Life of Bram Stoker* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004).
  2. This subject is examined in Duncan Light, *The Dracula Dilemma: Tourism, Identity and the State in Romania* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), chap. 5, "Fiction, History and Myth at Dracula's Castles." Claims for and against Bran Castle being Castle Dracula continue to be made in the media. Bran Castle's website alleges that it "is the only castle in all of Transylvania that actually fits Bram Stoker's description of Dracula's Castle." "Count Dracula: The Myth," Bran Castle, accessed April 30, 2020, <http://www.bran-castle.com/dracula.html>, while "A Tour of Dracula's Castle," CNN Travel, CNN, October 31, 2016, <https://edition.cnn.com/travel/gallery/dracula-castle-transylvania/>, says it "was made famous by Irish author Bram Stoker's novel 'Dracula.'" However, Amy Alipio, "Inside the Fortress Known as 'Dracula's Castle,'" *National Geographic*, September 29, 2018, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/article/dracula-castle-things-to-do-brasov-transylvania>, sardonically notes the creation of the link between Count Dracula and Bran Castle by communist Romanian government fiat in the 1960s.
  3. George wrote a book about his experiences called *With "The Unspeakables;" or, Two Years' Campaigning in European and Asiatic Turkey* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1878). He is described on the title page as "a 'Stafford House' surgeon; late Chef de l'Ambulance du Croissant Rouge." For more information on George Stoker, see Murray, *Shadow of "Dracula"*, 109.

In late 2018, a chance conversation with my good friend and fellow Wagnerian, Brian Coffey, led to agreement that we would go to Transylvania prior to joining a trip by the Wagner Society of Ireland to Amsterdam in early May 2019. Brian informed me that there was to be a performance of Wagner's *Der fliegende Holländer* (*The Flying Dutchman*) at the Bayerische Staatsoper in Munich on April 25, 2019, which meant that we could start from there by attending this opera, as Jonathan Harker did in Stoker's notes for *Dracula*<sup>4</sup> (though not in the finished novel). This clinched the decision to go ahead with the Transylvanian visit.

## Prelude

### Munich

Brian and I flew from Dublin to Munich on April 24, 2019 and enjoyed the Bayerische Staatsoper performance of Wagner's *Der fliegende Holländer* the following evening. No doubt Jonathan Harker would have been impressed by the theatre, the largest opera house in Germany, built in 1818 in an imposing classical style,<sup>5</sup> not to mention the production we saw featuring the Welsh bass-baritone, Bryn Terfel, as Der Holländer, the undead Dutch sea-captain doomed to forever traverse the earth as a punishment for blasphemy. Whether Stoker had attended a performance of the opera at the same venue is open to question: his travels in Europe in the 1870s might have taken him there as indeed might the Lyceum Theatre Company's trip to Nuremberg (little more than a hundred miles away) in 1885.<sup>6</sup> I have argued elsewhere that Stoker, a keen Wagnerian, had been influenced by Wagner and, in particular, that elements of *Der fliegende Holländer* can to be found in *Dracula*.<sup>7</sup>

Whether or not he experienced Munich first hand, it had an important influence

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4. *Bram Stoker's Notes for "Dracula": A Facsimile Edition*, annot. and transcr. Robert Eighteen-Bisang and Elizabeth Miller (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008), 94. In writing my Stoker biography I used copies of Stoker's notes for *Dracula* kindly provided by the Rosenbach Museum and Library in Philadelphia in 1997. For this article, I cite the facsimile edition of the notes for an easier point of reference. To distinguish Stoker's notes from Eighteen-Bisang and Miller's contributions, his notes will be cited as Stoker, *Notes for "Dracula"*; annotations and supplementary content will be cited as Eighteen-Bisang and Miller, *Notes for "Dracula."*
  5. The first theatre of the National Theatre Munich was destroyed in a fire in 1823. The second one was completed in 1825 in the same classical style; it was in turn destroyed during the Second World War in 1943. The third and current one was rebuilt and opened in 1963. "History of the Bayerische Staatsoper," Bayerische Staatsoper, archived April 19, 2021, <https://web.archive.org/web/20210419205102/https://www.staatsoper.de/en/about/history.html>.
  6. It is unclear whether Stoker participated in the Lyceum Theatre's 1885 visit to Nuremberg. Murray, *Shadow of "Dracula,"* 153.
  7. Murray, *Shadow of "Dracula,"* 95; and Murray, "Richard Wagner, Bram Stoker and the Opera of the Undead" (lecture, Wagner Society of Ireland, United Arts Club, Dublin, February 21, 2018).

on the composition of *Dracula*. On the surface, other than the reference to Jonathan Harker leaving Munich in the very first line of Stoker's novel, the city does not feature in it. It is however an important element of Stoker's notes and of "Dracula's Guest" (1914), a posthumously published short story the relationship of which to *Dracula* is unresolved.<sup>8</sup>

As well as attending the opera, the Rosenbach notes have Harker visiting the Alte Pinakothek art museum and the "Dead House."<sup>9</sup> One note states: "At Munich Dead House see face among the flowers — think corpse — but is alive."<sup>10</sup> The Munich Dead House was a mortuary that was well known in the English-speaking world and was on the tourist trail as much as was the Paris Morgue, the latter visited in 1888 by Henry Irving, Stoker's boss at the Lyceum Theatre in London.<sup>11</sup> An 1892 account of the Munich Dead emphasised the macabre mixture of revulsion and fascination at the dozens of bodies laid out on biers and focused particularly on the dead children: "Perhaps the most pathetic sight of all is that of the dozen or more infants lying in a position upon the biers so evidently insecure as to suggest the terrible probability that they will roll off on to the hard floor. They are decked in flimsy filigree fabrics, reminding me of nothing so much as the cut tissue paper ornaments sometimes seen in provincial drug stores in this country."<sup>12</sup>

Given the casual infanticide that recurs in *Dracula*, Stoker, if he did visit the Dead House, might have been particularly affected by the sight of the dead children. Both Stoker and Irving were fascinated by crime and death. In unpublished sections of his manuscript for *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* (1906), Stoker recounts visits to prisons and interaction with prisoners, sometimes working with the authorities on the solution of criminal mysteries.<sup>13</sup> Irving too fancied himself as a sleuth, deducing that one visitor to the Paris Morgue was, in fact, the murderer of one of the corpses;<sup>14</sup> like Stoker, his interest in crime took him to witness the proceedings in the police

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8. Murray, *Shadow of "Dracula,"* 169–70; and Eighteen-Bisang and Miller, *Notes for "Dracula,"* 278–79.

9. Stoker, *Notes for "Dracula,"* 34. Stoker rendered the Alte Pinakothek as "Pinnacothek." That Stoker has Harker visiting this outstanding institution, notable for its collection of Old Masters, is indicative of his deep interest in art.

10. Stoker, 18.

11. Laurence Irving, *Henry Irving: The Actor and His World* (London: Faber and Faber, [1951]), 498, <https://archive.org/details/henryirvingactor00000irvi>.

12. Leon Mead, "In a Munich Deadhouse," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, April 1892, 461–62, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000000492290>. See also David J. Skal, *Something in the Blood: The Untold Story of the Man Who Wrote "Dracula"* (New York: Liveright, 2016), 243–44, 308, 387. The publisher of *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* at the time was Mrs Frank Leslie, née Miriam Florence Follin, who took the name of her third husband, Frank Leslie (her husband, its founder, having died), then married to Willie Wilde, brother of Oscar and a friend of Stoker's. See Emer O'Sullivan, *The Fall of the House of Wilde: Oscar Wilde and His Family* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 314, 318–23; and Murray, *Shadow of "Dracula,"* 123–24.

13. Stoker [Abraham Stoker], "Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving," autograph draft, ca. 1906, cs1835, Vault (Deck C), Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC., 63–68.

14. Irving, *Henry Irving*, 498.

courts.<sup>15</sup>

## Transylvania

Our time constraints meant having to fly from Munich to Transylvania rather than taking the train. On reflection, this was not perhaps a great sacrifice; in *Dracula*, Jonathan Harker says nothing about the train journey other than that he left Munich on May 1 and arrived at Vienna early the next morning. He alighted briefly from the train at Budapest before travelling on to the capital of Transylvania, Klausenburg (the German name used in Stoker's novel; it is called Kolozsvár in Hungarian, and Cluj-Napoca in Romanian).<sup>16</sup> On April 26, 2019, Brian and I flew from Munich to Cluj-Napoca, a handsome city of broad boulevards and narrow, cobbled side streets. It is a typical Habsburg provincial capital with striking public and commercial buildings, some of them dating from the 1890s. Many of these would be at home in Haussmannian Paris; indeed, it is as if pieces of Belle Époque France had been dropped into the Transylvanian countryside, reflecting similar bourgeois achievement. Its ornate Romanian Opera House, formerly the Hungarian National Theatre, built between 1904 and 1906, recalls those found across the cities of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire and is a similar expression of cultural confidence. The yellow-painted façades of some of the most impressive buildings are reminiscent of St. Petersburg. The architecture proclaims it to have been a serious and significant city in the late nineteenth century, a hotbed of commerce rather than superstition. That it was a clean, well-ordered and prosperous city is evident in the photographs of Stoker's era.

Andrew F. Crosse's *Round about the Carpathians* (1878), which Stoker consulted at the London Library<sup>17</sup> and from which he took notes,<sup>18</sup> clarified that it was "the capital—viz., the Magyar [Hungarian] capital—of Transylvania, but in most respects it is a mere provincial town."<sup>19</sup> He elaborated: "Klausenburg has not the picturesque

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15. Murray, *Shadow of "Dracula,"* 90.

16. For the complexities of dealing with the name of this city, see Istvan Deak, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians 1848–1849* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979; London: Phoenix Press, 2001), xix. Cluj-Napoca is used for this paper.

17. "The Books That Made Dracula," Latest News, London Library, October 26, 2018, <https://www.londonlibrary.co.uk/about-us/latest-news/1869-the-books-that-made-dracula>. Coincidentally, the London Library was where I carried out much of my research for my Bram Stoker biography, exactly a century after he had frequented it. The discovery of Stoker's use of the London Library was made in 2018 by Philip Spedding, then Development Director of the library, who very kindly showed me the actual books consulted by Stoker.

18. Stoker, *Notes for "Dracula,"* 210, 212, 214, 216, 218.

19. Crosse, *Round about the Carpathians* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1878), 292, <https://books.google.com/books?id=swUcAAAAMAAJ>. Crosse stresses the Hungarian linguistic revival in Transylvania (185–86) and when he attends the theatre in Klausenburg, the performance of Molière is in Hungarian translation (295). He visits the Klausenburg Museum and gets information from a Hungarian Professor of Archeology at



situation of Kronstadt, but it is a pleasant clean-looking town, with wide streets diverging from the Platz, where stands the Cathedral, completed by Matthias Corvinus, son of [John] Hunyadi. This famous [Hungarian] king, always called 'the Just,' was born at Klausenburg."<sup>20</sup>

Corvinus is commemorated in Cluj-Napoca by an equestrian statue, erected in 1902. At its base stand armoured warriors, a reference to this champion of Christian Europe's battles with the Muslim Ottomans. The statue won the Grand Prix at the 1900 World's Fair in Paris. The erection of a statue of a Hungarian king would seem designed to emphasise Hungarian sovereignty over Transylvania during the latter stages of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and has been politically controversial in more recent times.<sup>21</sup>

The Piarists' or Jesuit Church, the first Roman Catholic church built in Transylvania after the Reformation, completed in 1724, hints at the region's complex religious history. This was embodied in the partial education of Stoker's friend, Arminius Vámbéry, the Hungarian Jewish polyglot and explorer<sup>22</sup> who features in *Dracula* as "my friend Arminius, of Buda-Pesth University,"<sup>23</sup> by the Piarists order of priests.<sup>24</sup>

We have a good sense of the life of the city's Transylvanian aristocracy in the era of Count Dracula from Count Miklós Bánffy de Losoncz, generally known as Miklós Bánffy, through his 1934 novel, *Megszámláltattál* (*They Were Counted*), the first volume of his trilogy, *Erdélyi történet*—also known as the Transylvanian Trilogy, *A Transylvanian Tale* or *The Writing on the Wall*.<sup>25</sup> Bánffy had been a leading Hungarian politician and diplomat as well as a writer in the period of Hungarian domination of Transylvania, before it became part of Romania after the First World War. In this pre-war epoch, his family's palace was "the most splendid" in Cluj-

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the University of Klausenburg (137). He finds the works of English authors in a bookshop in the city (292). Crosse's interaction with the people of Transylvania is primarily with its Hungarian elite; this is also the world of Count Dracula.

20. Crosse, 294.

21. Rogers Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 1–4.

22. Stoker's admiration for Vámbéry is evident in *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* (London: William Heinemann, 1906), 1:371–72, <https://archive.org/details/personalreminic0001bram>.

23. Leonard Wolf, ed. [Stoker], *The Essential Dracula: Including the Complete Novel by Bram Stoker*, notes, bibliog., and filmog. Roxana Stuart (New York: Plume, 1993), 291. Subsequent shortened notes citing Wolf's commentary will be rendered Wolf, *Essential Dracula*; quotations from the novel as Stoker, *Essential Dracula*.

24. *The Story of My Struggles: The Memoirs of Arminius Vámbéry* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1904), 1:42, <https://archive.org/details/storyofmystruggloivm>.

25. Published in English as Bánffy, *They Were Counted*, trans. Patrick Thursfield and Katalin Bánffy-Jelen, bk. 1 of *The Writing on the Wall* (*Erdélyi történet*) *The Transylvanian Trilogy* (London: Arcadia Books / UNESCO Publishing, 1999). Professor Roy Foster of Oxford University, a long-time friend, suggested some years ago that I read this trilogy in the context of my Stoker/*Dracula* studies.

Napoca<sup>26</sup> (Kolozsvár in Bánffy's text).<sup>27</sup> The echoes of this period picked up in the 1930s by British travel writer, Patrick Leigh Fermor, could not be more different from that conjured up in *Dracula*:

For five years of the 1890s . . . a cousin of Count Miklós Bánffy had led the government of the Austro-Hungarian empire. The period immediately after, from 1905, is the book's setting. The grand world he describes was Edwardian *Mitteleuropa*. . . . Life in the capital was a sequence of parties, balls and race meetings, and, in the country, of *grandes battues* where the guns were all Purdeys. Gossip, cigar-smoke and Anglophilia floated in the air; there were cliques where Monet, d'Annunzio and Rilke were appraised; hundreds of acres of forest were nightly lost at *chemin de fer*; at daybreak lovers stole away from tousled four-posters through secret doors, and duels were fought, as they still were when I was there.<sup>28</sup>

The lives lived by the Transylvanian aristocracy on their great estates in the countryside were depicted by Bánffy as sumptuous, while Stoker's Count is a miserable creature, hoarding useless treasure in a ruined castle. Bánffy's fictional portrait of an actual Transylvanian castle gives a sense of how the Hungarian ruling aristocracy really lived at this time.<sup>29</sup> One of the characters, Field Marshal Count Kanizsay, a much-decorated veteran of the Austro-Hungarian army, is, like Count Dracula, descended from ancestors who had been prominent in wars against the Turks.<sup>30</sup> The Széklers, from whom Count Dracula is supposedly descended, feature in *They Were Counted* and, like him, are conscious of their heroic history<sup>31</sup> and have a similar sense of entitlement to autonomy.<sup>32</sup>

### Bistrița

On April 27, 2019, Brian and I drove to Bistrița,<sup>33</sup> a journey of about sixty miles (about 96 km). Jonathan Harker, from his train window, was impressed by what he saw along the way: "All day long we seemed to dawdle through a country which was full

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26. Patrick Leigh Fermor, foreword to Bánffy, *They Were Counted*, vi.

27. Fermor, vi.

28. Fermor, vi. It was also in the air in Romania, where Queen Victoria's granddaughter, Princess Marie of Edinburgh, was Crown Princess, having married Crown Prince Ferdinand in 1893. Queen Victoria's view of Romania was bleak: "the Country is vy [sic] insecure & the immorality of the Society at Bucharest quite awful." Deborah Cadbury, *Queen Victoria's Matchmaking: The Royal Marriages That Shaped Europe* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 206.

29. Bánffy, *They Were Counted*, 92.

30. Bánffy, 93.

31. Bánffy, 434.

32. Bánffy, 443. However, while the Hungarians may have accorded the Széklers (also known as "Szekelys," the term used by Stoker in *Dracula*) descent from Attila the Hun, Romanians were inclined to regard them as deracinated members of their own nationality. Arthur J. May, *The Hapsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914* (1951; repr., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 510.

33. The modern Romanian spelling is used throughout for the "Bistritz" of Stoker's novel.

of beauty of every kind. Sometimes we saw little towns or castles on the top of steep hills such as we see in old missals; sometimes we ran by rivers and streams which seemed from the wide stony margin on each side of them to be subject to great floods.”<sup>34</sup>

What I saw was different. The countryside was indeed beautiful but even allowing for the fact that we travelled by road as opposed to train,<sup>35</sup> I did not see little towns or castles on top of these steep hills; while there was a backdrop of mountains—some of them snow-capped—their tops were almost uniformly bare of buildings. The profusion of Orthodox churches and large crosses along the way was a reminder of the dominant Romanian community that does not feature in *Dracula*. Flocks of sheep being driven along the main road reminded me of my childhood in 1950s Ireland, when farmers' animals could still impose their slow tempo on travel in the countryside. A live connection with Stoker's Transylvania were the “leiter-wagons” that feature in his text: “With joy I hurried to the window, and saw drive into the yard two great leiter-wagons, each drawn by eight sturdy horses, and at the head of each pair a Slovak, with his wide hat, great nail-studded belt, dirty sheepskin, and high boots.”<sup>36</sup> The many wagons I saw were long, simple, wooden affairs, drawn by two horses, little changed, I would imagine, from those of the late nineteenth century.

Described by Jonathan Harker in *Dracula* as “a very interesting old place,”<sup>37</sup> the Baedeker guide was less positive about the town, mostly inhabited by Germans: “The walls and towers, with which it is still surrounded, give the town a quaint and mediæval air, but it possesses no other attractions.”<sup>38</sup> This despite the fact that the *Burgberg* (Castle Hill), above the town, with the fortress of John Hunyadi, “affords a beautiful view of Bistritz, embedded among orchards and vineyards, and of the Carpathians on the frontier of Bukowina.”<sup>39</sup> The preponderance of Germans in the population would explain how Jonathan Harker could use his limited German here.

John Hunyadi, as voivode (prince or ruler) of Transylvania from 1441, was responsible for defending Hungary's Eastern frontier. His triumph over the Turks at

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34. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 5.

35. Wolf, *Essential Dracula*, 5n25, estimates Harker's journey would have taken twelve hours.

36. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 58–59. Describing the Slovak “beaters” on a boar-hunt with Hungarian nobles in Transylvania, Andrew F. Crosse says: “A wilder-looking crew I never saw. They wore shaggy coats of black sheepskin, with caps of the same, and they carried each a longish staff, with an axe at one end. These fellows were mostly Slovacks.” “Wild Boar Hunting in Hungary,” *Argonaut* (London), [April 1877], 197, <https://books.google.ie/books?id=vXMEAAAAQAAJ>. The assistance of Christine McVie, National Library of Scotland; Colin Walker, Bodleian Library, Oxford; and Hannah Strathern, Cambridge University Library, in establishing the publication details of this article is much appreciated.

37. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 6.

38. K. Baedeker, *Southern Germany and Austria, Including Hungary and Transylvania: Handbook for Travelers*, 4th ed. (Leipsc [Leipzig]: Karl Baedeker; London: Dulau, 1880), 344. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015057226899>.

39. Baedeker, 344.

Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) in 1456 delayed Ottoman expansion in Europe for nearly a century.<sup>40</sup> He was appointed hereditary Count of Bistrița in 1452. He is thus associated with Stoker's Count in terms of both location and title. He is considered by some to be a more appropriate model for the Count's heroic deeds against the Turks than Vlad III, voivode of Wallachia,<sup>41</sup> whose nickname was "Dracula," and also known as Vlad Țepeș ("the Impaler").<sup>42</sup>

Both Hunyadi and his son, Matthias Corvinus, feature in the Rosenbach notes, as indeed does John of Capistrano, the Franciscan friar known as the "Soldier Saint" who raised troops to assist Hunyadi in lifting the Turkish siege of Belgrade in 1456.<sup>43</sup> Arminius Vámbéry devoted two chapters to Hunyadi and Matthias Corvinus respectively in *The Story of Hungary* (1886),<sup>44</sup> published just a few years prior to his meeting Stoker. Even if Vámbéry would afterwards claim to have written only a few of the chapters, functioning mostly as editor,<sup>45</sup> there can be no denying his knowledge of Hunyadi. Bistrița ("Bistritz") is, incidentally, marked on the map that features in Vámbéry's *Story of Hungary*.<sup>46</sup>

The manner in which Stoker played games with his readers is evident in the claim that he had done his Transylvanian research at the British Museum,<sup>47</sup> when we now

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40. István Lázár, *Kis magyar történelem: Esszé [Hungary: A Brief History]* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1989), 85–86, <https://archive.org/details/kismagyartorteneooolaza>.

41. Grigore Nandris, "The Historical Dracula: The Theme of His Legend in the Western and in the Eastern Literatures of Europe," *Comparative Literature Studies* 3, no. 4 (1966): 374, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40245833>, in which he identifies the voivode referred to by Stoker as having beaten the Turk on his own ground in *Dracula* as "evidently" John Hunyadi. See also Gabriel Ronay, *The Dracula Myth* (London: W. H. Allen, 1972), 57; Wolf, *Essential Dracula*, 41n19, 41n21. However, Hans Corneel de Roos has suggested an intriguing new possibility for Stoker's historical model for Count Dracula: Michael the Brave, voivode of Wallachia from 1593 to 1601. "Count Dracula's Address and Lifetime Identity," in *Dracula: An International Perspective*, ed. Marius-Mircea Crișan (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 100–101.

42. Vlad Dracula is designated "Vlad IV" in Stanford Shaw, *Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280–1808*, vol. 1, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 64.

43. Stoker, *Notes for "Dracula,"* 212, 214. The notes were taken from Crosse, *Round about the Carpathians*, 159. My examination of the material that Stoker called up at Marsh's Library in Dublin in the late 1860s inclined me to see Hunyadi as influencing Stoker's creation of the character of Count Dracula. See Murray, "Puritanism and the Formation of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*" (lecture, Fifth Tudor and Stuart Ireland Interdisciplinary Conference, Maynooth University, Kildare, Ireland, August 28, 2015), <https://soundcloud.com/history-hub/paul-murray-puritanism-and-the-formation-of-bram-stokers-dracula?in=history-hub/sets/2015-tudor-and-stuart-ireland>; and Murray, "Dacre Stoker on Bram Stoker's *Dracula*," *Journal of Vampire Studies* 1, no. 2 (2021): 225–26.

44. Vámbéry, *The Story of Hungary*, collab. Louis Heilprin (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons / Knickerbocker Press, 1886), chap. 9, "John Hunyadi (Huniades), The Great Champion of Christianity"; and chap. 10, "King Matthias," <https://archive.org/details/storyofhungaryoovm>.

45. Vámbéry, *Story of My Struggles*, 2:485, <https://archive.org/details/storyofmystrugglo2vm>.

46. Vámbéry, *Story of Hungary*, between pages viii and ix.

47. Wolf, *Essential Dracula*, 2–3n11. What was then the library department of the British

know that he did not have a reader's ticket for the Museum in the period he was writing *Dracula*<sup>48</sup> and actually carried out his research at the London Library, a private subscription institution in central London.<sup>49</sup> One of the books consulted by Stoker at the London Library was James Samuelson's *Roumania* (1882), which contains a laudatory pen-portrait of Hunyadi, a man who was, he states, respected even by the Turkish Sultan Mehmet II ("the Conqueror") whom he had defeated in battle. The Turks were so afraid of him that, like Vlad Dracula, they called him the Devil and used stories of his exploits to frighten children into obedience.<sup>50</sup>

Stoker had, therefore, recent sources on both Hunyadi and Vlad Dracula, as well as on the brief reign of Vlad's brother, Radu.<sup>51</sup> Samuelson also noted that in the area, "Much of the rougher work is done by gipsies";<sup>52</sup> in the Rosenbach notes, Stoker jotted down information from Crosse's *Round about the Carpathians* on the number of gypsies in Hungary and how they "hang on to Magyar castles."<sup>53</sup> Count Dracula would have an escort of gypsies when he flees towards his castle before his fateful meeting with the band of pursuers at the end of Stoker's novel.

Stoker paid particular attention to earlier nineteenth-century accounts of English travellers in Central and Eastern Europe that provide a context for his creation of an exotic world of difference in the region such as, for example, William Spottiswoode's *A Tarantasse Journey through Eastern Russia in the Autumn of 1856* (1857), which he is believed to have consulted at the London Library<sup>54</sup> and to which there is a reference in the Rosenbach notes.<sup>55</sup> While it sets the frontier of Europe at Russia rather than Transylvania, his exclusionary psychology is much the same. Spottiswoode's statement that a traveller who enters Russia "has already passed the limits of European life, and arrived at a region where western civilisation merely overlays oriental barbarism"<sup>56</sup> anticipates Jonathan Harker's belief that in leaving Budapest he was "leaving the West, entering the East . . . among the traditions of

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Museum has since become the British Library from 1973 as a result of the British Library Act 1972.

48. In his application for a British Museum reader's ticket in May 1905, Stoker said that he had not seen his ticket for the preceding twenty years. British Museum [britishmuseum], "Bram Stoker's Application for a Ticket for the British Museum Library," Tumblr, May 26, 2016, <https://www.tumblr.com/britishmuseum/144956073592/bram-stokers-application-for-a-ticket-for-the>. He also said that he had used the Museum's Reading Room since 1879. For his use of the Reading Room in researching other works see Murray, *Shadow of "Dracula,"* 117, 227, 256.
49. London Library, "Books That Made Dracula."
50. Samuelson, *Roumania: Past and Present* (London: Longmans, Green, 1882), 171, <https://archive.org/details/roumaniapastpresosamuiala>.
51. Samuelson, 171.
52. Samuelson, 47.
53. Stoker, *Notes for "Dracula,"* 212.
54. London Library, "Books That Made Dracula."
55. Stoker, *Notes for "Dracula,"* 174.
56. W. Spottiswoode, *A Tarantasse Journey through Eastern Russia in the Autumn of 1856* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1857), viii, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.s533017>.

Turkish rule.”<sup>57</sup>

Spottiswoode describes a journey from Satkinsk to Ufa through the heart of “Bashkir country”: “the road is very bad and the people are wild,”<sup>58</sup> similar to Mina Harker’s description of Transylvania en route to Castle Dracula towards the end of *Dracula*: “the country gets wilder as we go.”<sup>59</sup> Spottiswoode and his companions then stopped at a Bashkir village, when it is nearly dark, where they “were soon surrounded by a crowd of wild-looking figures, with strange Mongol contour of features and picturesque dress. . . . They spoke their own language, and few of them could muster a word of Russian. However, we were in for it, and we could not well have turned back even if we had wished it. So we fresh loaded our pistols, urged on the relay, and were soon off at as good as pace as before.”<sup>60</sup> In *Dracula*, Van Helsing recommends, for “enemies more mundane, this revolver and this knife.”<sup>61</sup>

Like Jonathan Harker, Spottiswoode is warned against travel: “Our throats were to be cut, many other things would befall us, and we would never reach England again.”<sup>62</sup> They are also warned against travelling by night,<sup>63</sup> as Jonathan Harker is begged not to undertake his fateful nocturnal trip to Castle Dracula.<sup>64</sup> When Spottiswoode travels on board a river steamer, the “[b]oxes and packing-cases” include a coffin,<sup>65</sup> anticipating Count Dracula’s earth-box coffins on board the *Demeter*.<sup>66</sup>

In 1860, Spottiswoode also took part in a tour of Croatia and Hungary with his sister and younger brother, George Andrew Spottiswoode, the latter publishing an account of it in 1861.<sup>67</sup> The London Library has a copy of the anthology it was published in<sup>68</sup> but the chapter does not feature in Stoker’s Rosenbach notes, so we cannot be sure he read it.

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57. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 1.

58. W. Spottiswoode, *Tarantasse Journey*, 65.

59. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 428.

60. W. Spottiswoode, *Tarantasse Journey*, 66.

61. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 301.

62. W. Spottiswoode, *Tarantasse Journey*, 81.

63. W. Spottiswood, 152.

64. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 7–9.

65. W. Spottiswoode, 14.

66. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 107.

67. G. A. Spottiswoode, “A Tour in Civil and Military Croatia, and Part of Hungary,” in *Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860*, ed. Francis Galton (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1861), 76–99, <https://archive.org/details/vacationtouristsoigaltrich>.

68. “Vacation Tourists and Notes of Travel in 1860,” Catalyst, London Library, accessed April 30, 2021, [https://londonlibrary.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/44LON\\_INST/1uiemo0/alma990008798460206436](https://londonlibrary.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/44LON_INST/1uiemo0/alma990008798460206436). In response to an email query I sent to the London Library as to the date of acquisition of this book by the Library, i.e., whether it was in the library’s collection in the 1890s when Stoker was using the library, Gill Turner, Head of Acquisitions, wrote back on December 18, 2023, stating it was “not unreasonable to assume we acquired it on or around publication but I don’t think we have any catalogue evidence to that effect. Stoker joined the Library in 1890 so I think it is very reasonable to assume the book was already in our collection.”

Stoker says little of the two hotels in which Jonathan Harker stayed in Transylvania—the Hotel Royale in Klausenburg (Cluj-Napoca) and the Golden Krone Hotel in Bistrița—other than that Harker's bed was “comfortable enough” in the former<sup>69</sup> and that he was delighted to find the latter “thoroughly old-fashioned.”<sup>70</sup> According to Spottiswoode, “the country inns in Hungary are usually considered to be almost intolerable; but our experience of them was, on the whole, favourable.”<sup>71</sup> Count Dracula would no doubt have agreed with Spottiswoode's estimation that a “bulwark against the Turkish power was desirable and even necessary in days gone by . . . [in order to mitigate] the ravages of this scourge in Eastern Europe.”<sup>72</sup> In relation to the Military Frontier of Austria, which was then still in operation, dividing Austrian territory from that of Turkey, Spottiswoode notes that, of the five Transylvanian regiments involved in guarding the border, three are “Szekler,”<sup>73</sup> chiming with Count Dracula's claims that “to us for centuries was trusted the guarding of the frontier of Turkey-land”<sup>74</sup> and that “We Szekelys have a right to be proud, for in our veins flows the blood of many brave races who fought as the lion fights, for lordship.”<sup>75</sup> Spottiswoode refers to the “momentary hope from the victories of Hunyad (1443)”<sup>76</sup> in a manner that suggests his contemporaries were still familiar with the medieval name and exploits of Hunyadi.

### *Borgo Pass*

The Borgo Pass (*Pasul Tihuța* in Romanian) was anticlimactic, winding through largely pleasant countryside, the hairpin bends not having the vertiginous drops to the side that one might expect. Stoker largely achieves the terrifying impression of Jonathan Harker's journey by a series of supernatural effects rather than dramatic Gothic descriptions of scenery in the manner of Ann Radcliffe.

A conspicuous recognition of Stoker in the area is the “Hotel Castel Dracula” in Piatra Fântânele, a modern building featuring a large statue of Bram clutching papers, atop a stone plinth. The building is designed to reference Castle Dracula; paintings of wolves and bats adorn the walls and its hearty fare is served skewered on dagger-like implements. It may be kitsch, but a visit there is certainly fun.

Hotel Castel Dracula also has the advantage of having modern facilities, whereas the same could not be said for the one we had occupied in Bistrița. That hotel reprised Castle Dracula in the sense that it seemed to have only one employee whose multitasking reflected that of the Count himself. The service of this heroic lady did

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69. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 4.

70. Stoker, 6. The hotel was fictional; see Wolf, *Essential Dracula*, 6n29.

71. G. A. Spottiswoode, “Civil and Military Croatia,” 95.

72. G. A. Spottiswoode, 89.

73. G. A. Spottiswoode, 88.

74. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 40–41.

75. Stoker, 39.

76. G. A. Spottiswoode, “Civil and Military Croatia,” 107.

not extend, however, to dinner and Brian and I found that the city was completely shut down for the Orthodox Easter. Not since I visited Belfast on a Sunday in the late 1960s have I encountered a city so totally closed. Nothing serving food—shops, restaurants, clubs, pubs—was open and we finally found something to eat in the suspicious-looking sandwiches of a filling station, the only functioning retail outlet that we encountered in a few hours walking around Bistrița. The city's closure was a further reminder of the continuing power of the Orthodox Church of the Romanian majority in this part of Transylvania.

### *Castle Dracula*

Stoker's description of Castle Dracula is pretty sparse and he avoids giving even an approximate location; Harker finds that he "was not able to light on any map or work giving the exact locality of the Castle Dracula, as there are no maps of this country as yet to compare with our own Ordnance Survey maps."<sup>77</sup> But this has not prevented enthusiasts from attempting to pinpoint locations or to claim that Stoker's Castle Dracula may derive from descriptions of castles in works that he consulted while writing his novel.<sup>78</sup>

Prior to setting off for Transylvania, Brian and I both read Hans Corneel de Roos' book, *The Ultimate Dracula* (2012), a reproduction of Stoker's *Dracula* that includes supplementary material like "The Dracula Maps"<sup>79</sup> in which de Roos locates Castle Dracula atop Mount Izvorul Călimanului,<sup>80</sup> a bare mountain 2,033 metres high, 115km (71 miles) from Bistrița.

Brian immediately spotted a problem with de Roos' calculations. In *Ultimate Dracula*, de Roos used the average speed of Jonathan Harker's journey to Castle Dracula to help establish its location.<sup>81</sup> The defects in this approach are evident by reading the text of *Dracula*. As Brian pointed out, de Roos does not seem to have taken into account that the first part of the journey is mostly uphill and then the latter part mostly downhill, without knowing the percentage of each, rendering any

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77. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 3.

78. Marius-Mircea Crișan, for instance, has written several pieces discussing its location: "The Models for Castle Dracula in Stoker's Sources for Transylvania," *Journal of Dracula Studies*, no. 10 (2008): 10–18; "The Old and New Dracula Castle: The Poienari Fortress in *Dracula* Sequels and Travel Memoirs," in *Dracula and the Gothic in Literature, Pop Culture and the Arts*, ed. Isabel Ermida (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2016), 45–68; and "Castle Hunedoara and the Dracula Myth: Connection or Speculation?," in Crișan, *Dracula*, 157–78.

79. De Roos, "The Dracula Maps," in *The Ultimate Dracula: With the Full & Unabridged Text of the 1897 Constable Edition of "Dracula – A Mystery Story,"* by Bram Stoker; intro., maps, photo ill. Hans Corneel de Roos (Munich: Moonlake Editions, 2012), 16–66. The finding of the chapter were first published in de Roos, "Castle Dracula: Its Exact Location Reconstructed from Stoker's Novel, His Research Notes and Contemporary Maps," *Linköping Electronic Articles in Computer and Information Science* 14, no. 1 (2012), <https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn%3Anbn%3Ase%3Aliu%3Adiva-163121>.

80. De Roos, "Dracula Maps," 62. See also de Roos, "Count Dracula's Address," 102, 109.

81. De Roos, "Dracula Maps," 27.



calculation of average speed moot.<sup>82</sup> Jonathan Harker states: "We kept on ascending, with occasional periods of quick descent, but in the main always ascending."<sup>83</sup> Then there is the realisation that struck Harker: "It seemed to me that we were simply going over and over the same ground again, and so I took note of some salient point, and found that this was so."<sup>84</sup> We do not know how often the Count went around in circles or how long this added to the journey's time. Finally, Dracula repeatedly dismounts to mark the locations of mysterious blue flames (said to reveal buried treasure), some close to the road and some give the wolves sufficient time to come close to the carriage.<sup>85</sup> It is impossible to know the length of the delays involved in these gold-hunting mini-expeditions.

Taken together, these three factors make any calculation of the time involved in Jonathan Harker's journey to Castle Dracula useless as an indicator of its location. Similarly, when Van Helsing and Mina are recounting their journey to Castle Dracula from the opposite direction towards the end of the novel, they travel upwards for many hours and then "steeply downhill," without any indication of the relative times involved.<sup>86</sup> If Stoker had set out to frustrate de Roos-style calculations, he could not have done a better job.

In *Dracula*, the route to the castle is crowded with trees and Jonathan Harker does not describe any landscape that matches that of Mount Izvorul Călimanului; the Count is able to drive his carriage right into the courtyard of his castle,<sup>87</sup> a feat that a lack of roads and the gradient on Mount Izvorul Călimanului would have rendered difficult, to say the least. In his November 5 memorandum, Van Helsing says casually: "When I left Madame Mina sleeping within the Holy circle, I took my way to the castle";<sup>88</sup> there is no mention of climbing a high mountain, which would have been onerous for an elderly man.

Also in *Dracula*, Jonathan Harker says that the "castle is on the very edge of a terrific precipice. A stone falling from the window would fall a thousand feet without touching anything!"<sup>89</sup> De Roos does not say that there is such a sharp precipice on Mount Izvorul Călimanului from which a stone dropped would fall a thousand feet straight to the ground, especially as Stoker describes the precipice as wrapping around the castle, making it impregnable on three sides.<sup>90</sup>

De Roos revisited his Castle Dracula location in an essay published in 2017,<sup>91</sup> which, strangely, only references his 2012 book in a single footnote.<sup>92</sup> He reproduces

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82. Coffey, email message to the author, May 24, 2019.

83. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 19.

84. Stoker, 16.

85. Stoker, 17–19.

86. Stoker, 430, 439.

87. Stoker, 19.

88. Stoker, 436.

89. Stoker, 35.

90. Stoker, 49.

91. De Roos, "Count Dracula's Address," 102–110.

92. De Roos, 111n7. De Roos does not repeat all his arguments from "Dracula Maps," but

the key entry in the Rosenbach notes, which state, correctly, that the River Bistrița runs into the River Sireth at Fundu (both Dracula and some of his pursuers will travel back to Castle Dracula along these two rivers) “between Strasha and Isvorol / is 47 E long / & 25¾ N. Lat.”<sup>93</sup> De Roos rightly deduces that the coordinates as written by Stoker should be inverted to 47 degrees North Latitude and 25¾ East Longitude.<sup>94</sup> To me, the meaning of these notes is clear: Stoker is plotting the return journey to Castle Dracula from maps, with the Count and his pursuers going north along the rivers before disembarking at a point around 47 degrees North Latitude and 25¾ East Longitude, between Isvorul and Strasha and continuing cross-country to the castle, which is supported by this passage in *Dracula*, although Stoker omits the longitudinal coordinate to conceal the specificity of the location: “if any waterway was chosen for the Count’s escape back to his Castle, the Sereth and then the Bistritza at its junction, would be the one. We took it, that somewhere about the 47th degree, north latitude, would be the place chosen for crossing the country between the river and the Carpathians.”<sup>95</sup>

Brian entered the latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates as inverted by de Roos on Google Maps, which took us to a remote spot on the Bistrița River which might indeed have seemed reasonable to Stoker as a point of disembarkation. However, what he could not have known by studying a map was that the river here was a small stream which could hardly have accommodated a toy boat, let alone the steam launch manned by the Count’s pursuers.<sup>96</sup> Stoker’s knowledge of the local terrain was

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neither does he resile from them.

93. Stoker, *Notes for “Dracula,”* 112.

94. De Roos, “Count Dracula’s Address,” 108–9. See also de Roos, “Dracula Maps,” 61–62. In Stoker, *Notes for “Dracula,”* 112, the directions are rendered:

R. Sereth  
R Bistritza runs into Sereth  
at Fundu  
between Strasha & Isvorol  
is 47 E long  
& 25¾ N. Lat

Eighteen-Bisang and Miller, *Notes for “Dracula,”* 113, transcribed them as:

R Sereth  
R Bistritza runs into Sereth at Fundu between Stasha & Isvorol  
Is 47 E long  
25¾ N. Lat

95. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 421.

96. Clive Leatherdale, annot. and ed., *Bram Stoker’s Dracula Unearthed* (Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books, 1998), 484n127. Leatherdale says that at this point the Bistrița River is “little more than a stream.” It is, in fact, merely a stream, a small one at that. De Roos, “Count Dracula’s Address,” 110, cites Leatherdale on this point but does not dispute it. See also de Roos, *Dracula Maps*, 53.

clearly limited, as has been known to scholars for years.<sup>97</sup>

De Roos states that this would be “the most appropriate point for the Gypsies [escorting Dracula] to get deeper into Transylvania,”<sup>98</sup> but concludes that “Castle Dracula is located on top of the [Mount] Izvorul Călimanului,”<sup>99</sup> although Stoker wanted “to clean up the traces of an identifiable location.”<sup>100</sup> I agree that Stoker is determined not to allow the location of Castle Dracula to be precisely located: both at the beginning of *Dracula* and at its end, he plots the travel to it, firstly of Jonathan Harker and then Dracula and his pursuers, to specific geographical points, the Borgo Pass and the coordinates on the Bistrița River respectively, before muddling the narrative in a manner that makes identifying any location beyond these points impossible. Quite why Stoker would have wanted to locate Dracula's castle on top of a bare mountain in the middle of a wilderness is not explained. Medieval fortresses were built in strategic locations for both protection and control and Dracula's vast castle would surely have been designed to fulfil rational objectives.

De Roos' claim that Castle Dracula is located on top of Mount Izvorul is based on the reference to it in the Rosenbach notes, which he interprets to mean that the gypsies were taking Dracula from his disembarkation point on the river to this mountain's summit. Stoker, however, “did not want to disclose the exact site of the castle to his readers.”<sup>101</sup> To de Roos, the notes mean that Stoker “had a certain mountain top in mind, knowing both its name and its location.”<sup>102</sup> He concedes, however, that Stoker's supposed “facts” cannot be verified: “the novel's ‘fuzziness’ can be understood as a part of Stoker's strategy to attract the maximum of attention with a sensational ‘true story’ backed up by seemingly authentic details, that upon closer examination, however, elude a fact check.”<sup>103</sup>

To me, the reason they elude a fact check is that de Roos' claims go beyond the facts in so far as they can be ascertained by cross-referencing the Rosenbach notes and *Dracula's* text. He attempts, for example, to support his case for the location of Castle Dracula by dividing a single note of Stoker's into two sentences<sup>104</sup> but it remains a single note pointing only to a disembarkation point in the river, not to the location of Castle Dracula. Using the Rosenbach notes to try to establish the literal truth of Stoker's novel is fraught with risk, not least because many of the notes never

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97. Leatherdale notes “a quick look at the map should have shown Stoker that a river winding up to the Carpathian heights – forcing the launch to battle against the down-flow – is unlikely to be wide and smooth enough for a steam launch, of the kind used on the Norfolk Broads.” *Dracula Unearthed*, 484n128.

98. De Roos, “Count Dracula's Address,” 109.

99. De Roos, “Dracula Maps,” 62.

100. De Roos, 66.

101. De Roos, “Count Dracula's Address,” 109.

102. De Roos, 110.

103. De Roos, 110.

104. De Roos, 107, places a full stop after Fundu and capitalises “between” to support his view that Stoker meant to write “two statements here.” See note 94 above for the text of Stoker's Rosenbach note.

made it into the text and what Stoker's intentions actually were in relation to them often cannot be deduced. De Roos' claim that "Stoker's research was more precise than generally assumed"<sup>105</sup> is, frankly, the opposite of what my visit to Transylvania and as well as my research would suggest.

Indeed, Duncan Light, a geographer, concludes that Stoker's knowledge of Transylvanian geography was "patchy at best,"<sup>106</sup> suggesting that Stoker may simply have "got the geography wrong."<sup>107</sup> Similarly, his awareness of the realities of neighbouring Romania was "extremely hazy";<sup>108</sup> he was unaware that Moldavia was part of Romania and of the existence of Bulgaria, assuming that the Bulgarian port of Varna was within Russian territory.<sup>109</sup> This is in line with Clive Leatherdale's dismissal of the unreality of Stoker's narrative of the race back to Castle Dracula towards the end of the novel: "The nonsensical speed with which steam launches, pack-horses, and carriages ridden by old men and frail women can traverse a lunar landscape – which Stoker has described as riddled with crevices and crags – suggests two things: first that his topographical knowledge was limited; second, that he needed to drag readers quickly to his climax."<sup>110</sup>

Instead of trying to determine an exact location for Castle Dracula, it might be more logical to see it as a magical place, similar to that in "The Castle of the King," a story Stoker wrote for his fairy tale collection, *Under the Sunset* (1882). Joseph S. Bierman pointed out that it has "has some phraseology that is repeated almost verbatim in the description of Dracula's castle."<sup>111</sup>

The illustration of "The Castle of the King"<sup>112</sup> bears more than a passing resemblance to Castle Dracula. It, too, is located in a high, distant, and difficult to access location and is presided over by the King of Death who holds the dead in thrall. To join his beloved in death, the Poet, the central character, has to navigate a nightmarish, magical terrain inhabited by ferocious animals, including wolves, which, like the Dracula-controlled wolves that surround Jonathan Harker, refrain from attacking the lone traveller.

Both the concepts and the language of "Castle of the King" are recycled in

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105. De Roos, 96. This view continues to be propagated in the mass media. See, for example, Clive Radwell, "Dracula's Real Transylvania," *Irish Daily Mail*, September 1, 2021, <https://www.pressreader.com/ireland/irish-daily-mail/20200901/282226603115783>, which states that Stoker was careful to describe the geography of Transylvania accurately.

106. Light, "The People of Bram Stoker's Transylvania," *Journal of Dracula Studies*, no. 7 (2005): 38.

107. Light, 41.

108. Light, 40.

109. Light, 38; which perhaps goes to show that Stoker simply took elements that suited his purpose from the works he consulted rather than digesting their entire contents.

110. Leatherdale, *Dracula Unearthed*, 486n138.

111. Bierman, "Dracula: Prolonged Childhood Illness, and the Oral Triad," *American Imago* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1972): 189, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26302690>.

112. Stoker, "The Castle of the King," in *Under the Sunset* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1882), between pages 156 and 157, <https://archive.org/details/undersunsetoostokgoog>.

Dracula. The “great white teeth” of the wolves and other ferocious beasts in “Castle of the King” are “champed angrily together in baffled rage”;<sup>113</sup> in *Dracula*, the wolves reveal their red jaws “with champing teeth.”<sup>114</sup> Also in *Dracula*, the Count’s expression would become one “of hate and baffled malignity—of anger and hellish rage.”<sup>115</sup> Thus, the castle in *Dracula* is a lineal descendant of that in “The Castle of the King”; neither are meant to be real but have their origins in a confined childhood in which Stoker was a prisoner of his own body in his own home, subject to hellish, opiate-derived dreams as a result of being dosed with laudanum, the cure-all medicine of the Victorian era.<sup>116</sup> A modern critic has stated that almost from birth, “Stoker lived immersed in a world of gothic fantasies”;<sup>117</sup> it is clear that these found sustained outlets in his fiction. Castle Dracula is the nightmare location for the evil fairy tale that constitutes the opening, Transylvanian, section of Stoker’s novel.

### The Real Transylvania

My son, Stephen Oliver Murray, undertook research on late nineteenth-century developments in Transylvania. While the subject is too large to be examined in detail in this paper, he found that in Stoker’s lifetime, Transylvanian industrial development was being driven by “the influx of Austro-Hungarian capital . . . [and its] rich mineral deposits, urban bourgeoisie and ruling nobility became the focal point for the development of mining and metallurgy. As early as the 1850s, the *Creditanstalt* and its *STEG* railway firm had built a line from Budapest to Transylvania.”<sup>118</sup> According to Crosse, the railways had been successful in developing the resources of Transylvania by 1878.<sup>119</sup> The telegraph system in Transylvania dated back to 1853.<sup>120</sup> This reality was a long way from *Dracula*.

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113. Stoker, 147.

114. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 65.

115. Stoker, 364.

116. See Paul Murray, “The Primrose Path to *Dracula*,” *Diabolique*, May/June 2012, 42; and Skal, *Something in the Blood*, 38–43.

117. Jimmie E. Cain, “Bram Stoker, Geopolitics, and War,” in *Bram Stoker and the Late Victorian World*, ed. Matthew Gibson and Sabine Lenore Müller (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Press, 2018), 151.

118. David F. Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 145.

119. Crosse, *Round the Carpathians*, 139. Good, *Economic Rise*, 100, notes during “a period of particularly rapid railroad development [1867–73],” “the eastward extension of the network into previously untouched territories in the undeveloped east” of the Habsburg Empire (102), “[t]he Hungarian system was extended deep into Transylvania . . . by the Siebenbürger Bahn (Arad-Gyula-Fehérvár) and by the Ungarische Ostbahn (Nagyvárad-Kolozsvár-Brassó)” (102–103n21).

120. Zoltán Szász, “Economy and Society in the Era of Capitalist Transformation,” in *History of Transylvania*, ed. Bennett Kovrig; trans. Péter Szaifkó et al. ([Toronto]: Hungarian Research Institute of Canada; Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs; Highland Lakes, NJ: Atlantic Research and Publications, 2002), 3:467, <https://mek.oszk.hu/03400/03407/html/399.html>.

One problem was that Stoker was using some dated source material. As already noted, he consulted Samuelson's *Roumania* in the London Library. Samuelson not alone lamented English ignorance of the "Kingdom of Roumania" but pointed out that William Wilkinson's *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia* (1820),<sup>121</sup> an important source for Stoker's *Dracula*, including the name he would use for his novel<sup>122</sup> was "now quite out of date."<sup>123</sup> Stoker might have paid particular attention to Samuelson as his drawing of parallels between Ireland and Romania chimed with the then situation in the Irish countryside, the setting for Stoker's first novel, *The Snake's Pass* (1890). Samuelson saw the peaceful creation of a "peasant proprietary" in Romania as setting a precedent for the establishment of a "similar class of landholders in Ireland."<sup>124</sup> As well as touching on the subject in his preface, Samuelson devotes several pages to it in the body of his book.<sup>125</sup>

The idea of the region being sunk in superstition is contradicted by the resolutely rational approach of the Habsburg Empress Maria Theresa to reports of vampirism more than a century previously: "Rather than attribute vampirism to diabolical forces, Maria Theresa was readier to believe that natural causes or malevolent earthly agents were responsible."<sup>126</sup> Directing that all future cases of vampirism were to be investigated by doctors under governmental direction, Maria Theresa's handling of alleged vampirism "is a lens through which to view the Enlightenment and the ways in which it influenced policy in Central Europe. The Enlightenment stood above all else for reason and for explanations that were rooted in the laws of nature and human conduct."<sup>127</sup> The achievements of "bureaucratic absolutism" in nineteenth-century Austria-Hungary have been described as "massive."<sup>128</sup>

It might be asked if attempts to claim microscopic accuracy for *Dracula* make any real difference. I would argue that it does, that such claims reinforce the negativity of Stoker's portrayal of Transylvania, as pointed out by Matthew Gibson, for example, that Eastern Europe is described as "shambolic, wild and primitive, but with a sinister, threatening edge which argues not for control so much as exclusion."<sup>129</sup> In his book, *The Dracula Dilemma* (2012), Duncan Light notes, in language similar to Gibson's, how "the Balkanist discourse of *Dracula*" depicts it as "part of a backward,

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121. Stoker consulted Wilkinson's book at the Whitby Subscription Library in 1890. Joseph S. Bierman, "A Crucial Stage in the Writing of *Dracula*," in *Bram Stoker: History, Psychoanalysis and the Gothic*, ed. William Hughes and Andrew Smith (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 155.

122. Murray, *Shadow of "Dracula"*, 173, 185–86, 187.

123. Samuelson, *Roumania*, viii.

124. Samuelson, v–vi.

125. Samuelson, 82–86.

126. Martyn Rady, *The Habsburgs: The Rise and Fall of a World Power* (London: Allen Lane, 2020), 201.

127. Rady, 201.

128. Rady, 258–59.

129. Gibson, *Dracula and the Eastern Question: British and French Vampire Narratives of the Nineteenth-Century near East* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 86.

marginal and undeveloped periphery that lags behind Western Europe in terms of economic and social development.”<sup>130</sup> Such a portrayal has real-world consequences: “Romania is saddled with a pervasive cultural stereotype initiated by a single work of nineteenth-century fiction. Stoker’s novel is insistent on the Otherness of Transylvania (and, by extension, Romania). *Dracula* is therefore just one element of a wider political project in the West about the nature and boundaries of Europe itself. The continued association with Dracula and vampires is something that frustrates Romania’s post-socialist identity-building, particularly its efforts to represent itself as a modern European state.”<sup>131</sup>

For Light, the problem endures: “At the root of this issue is the collision between the ongoing appropriation of Transylvania within Western popular culture and Romania’s efforts to define itself in its own way on its own terms.”<sup>132</sup> Misha Glenny, commenting on the destructive effects of Western intervention in the Balkans, has noted the creation of an imagined world that absolves the great powers of the consequences of their actions: “This imagined Balkans – a world where people are motivated not by rational considerations but by a mysterious congenital bloodthirstiness – is always invoked when the great powers seek to deny their responsibility for the economic and political difficulties that the region has suffered as a consequence of external interference.”<sup>133</sup>

## Conclusion

On April 29, 2019, Brian and I motored south to Bucharest to catch a flight to Amsterdam, where we were to link up with other Wagner Society members. En route, we skirted Bran Castle, site of much Dracula tourism, unable to stop and examine the building as the number of visitors and our limited time made parking unrealistic. This contrasted with 2005, when few visitors were in evidence.

We did stop at Sighișoara, birthplace of Vlad Dracula, now featuring a statue of him that I did not recall seeing in 2005, described by the Lonely Planet website as “showing the legend with a bewildered look and his trademark circa-1981 porno moustache.”<sup>134</sup> The manner in which this city, together with Bucharest, had developed since my previous visit in 2005 was impressive.

We did not stop at Lake Snagov, reputed resting place of Vlad Dracula, due to time constraints.<sup>135</sup> My 2005 visit there remains a vivid memory, when I engaged an

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130. Light, *Dracula Dilemma*, 70.

131. Light, 113.

132. Light, 157.

133. Glenny, *The Balkans, 1804–1999: Nationalism, War and the Great Powers* (London: Granta Books, 1999), 661–62.

134. “Statue of Vlad Țepeș,” *Lonely Planet*, accessed April 30, 2021, <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/romania/transylvania/sighisoara/attractions/statue-of-vlad-tepes/a/poi-sig/447911/360409>.

135. I did return to Lake Snagov in the summer of 2022 when I visited Romania at the

elderly man to row me out to the small Orthodox monastery in the middle of the lake where Vlad's remains had, according to legend, been interred. As we approached the island, a large, aggressively-hostile, black dog appeared, ready to repel intruders. Then a tall priest, clad in black from head to foot, emerged from the monastery; he raised his right hand and called out in a commanding tone to the dog, which instantly fell silent. I could only think of Count Dracula and the wolves. The priest gave me a white woven cross which reminded me of the crucifix pressed on Jonathan Harker by the innkeeper's wife as he set off for Dracula's castle.<sup>136</sup>

We departed from Bucharest airport, having passed through an abundant variety of Dracula-themed tourist tat. Any inhibitions about promoting Dracula tourism seemed to have been laid to rest. The aristocratic Count might have sneered at the tastelessness of the common people but are their commercial instincts so different from his treasure-hoarding mania?

Brian and I joined our fellow Wagnerians in Amsterdam to attend a performance of Wagner's *Tannhäuser*, which is, like Dracula, a tale of Christian redemption. Its story of a man enslaved by supernatural eroticism in a magical location, the Venusberg, recalls Jonathan Harker's sojourn in the infinitely nastier castle of the Count and, in particular, the overpowering sexual allure of the three female vampires that attempt to seduce him.<sup>137</sup>

Overall, my 2019 visit to Transylvania reminded me of the wisdom I had learned as a diplomat of walking the ground in advance of any significant event. Just looking at the major buildings that were clearly the product of the late nineteenth century told me a good deal about the realities of Cluj-Napoca in that era. Seeing mountain tops bare of the buildings that Stoker had added demonstrated the errors of his imaginative reconstruction of an area he had never visited. While Romania may still lag behind the older members of the European Union to which it has belonged since 2007, the progress it has made in recent years makes Stoker's portrayal more inappropriate than ever. I have previously commented on how a lack of knowledge of Stoker's inner life has allowed a host of fictions, both factual and interpretative, to flourish.<sup>138</sup> Stoker's *Dracula* is fiction and a visit to Transylvania creates an awareness of how much Stoker got wrong as much as he got right. Stoker did undertake some research—more perhaps than most novelists—but it was limited and, like much of his fiction, *Dracula* was written hastily by a busy man with challenging professional

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invitation of the then Irish Ambassador, Paul McGarry, to be present at the opening of an exhibition on Stoker and Transylvania in Sighişoara as I had contributed to the catalogue, [Ricardo Borja Soria Cáceres], *Bloodlines: From Dublin to Transylvania; The Making of Bram Stoker's Dracula; An Exhibition by the Embassy of Ireland in Romania*, (cur. Cătălin D. Constantin ([Bucharest]: Embassy of Ireland in Romania, 2021).

136. Stoker, *Essential Dracula*, 9.

137. Murray, "Richard Wagner," includes a section on *Tannhäuser*.

138. Murray, "Bram Stoker: The Facts and the Fictions," ed. Jarlath Killeen, *Bram Stoker: Centenary Essays* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2014), 56–57.



duties as a theatre manager.<sup>139</sup>

Stoker studies might be better served if enthusiasts were conscious of Stoker's sardonic sense of humour, as evidenced by his response to a memorandum on *Dracula* sent to him by an American in 1906, to the effect that his correspondent evidently knew more about the novel than he did!<sup>140</sup> This was perhaps his way of saying that we should stop trying to prove the literal truth of *Dracula* and enjoy it for the magical, imaginative masterpiece that it is.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the critical contributions made to this article by Brian Coffey and Stephen Oliver Murray. Brian Coffey is a friend and fellow member of the Wagner Society of Ireland. He is an audiologist by profession. He provided the original impetus and made most of the arrangements for our trip to Transylvania. Stephen Oliver Murray is my son and a research student. He assisted with a good deal of research on this paper, some elements of which he originated.

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# Patricarchal Blood Rituals and the Vampire Archetype

LLOYD D. GRAHAM

*Independent scholar, Australia*

**ABSTRACT:** Correspondences can be identified between (on the one hand) androcentric cosmogonies, ancestral misogyny and tribal blood rituals, and (on the other) the classical paradigm of vampirism, especially in its literary and on-screen flowering. Specifically, the initiatory culture-hero and the archetypal vampire both confer a haematologically-mediated rebirth, via an ancient male, into an intrinsically masculine eternity. Such parallels could account for the success of the senior male vampire as an enduring archetype in the popular imagination.

**KEYWORDS:** tribal initiation · blood ritual · ancestral culture-hero · patriarchy · misogyny · rebirth from the male

**WARNING:** Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander readers are respectfully advised that this paper contains information which would be restricted or prohibited in many communities. This information—which relates to men’s rituals—has been translated from anthropology publications written in foreign languages or reprised from older anthropology publications written in English.

This article seeks to establish a set of correspondences, not hitherto remarked as an ensemble,<sup>1</sup> between (on the one hand) androcentric cosmogonies, ancestral misogyny and tribal blood rituals, and (on the other) the classical paradigm of vampirism, especially in its literary and on-screen flowering. It is suggested that the parallels between these two domains have contributed to the success of the senior male vampire as an enduring archetype in the popular imagination.

## Mythology and Patriarchy

In many pre-industrial societies, men appropriated to themselves what they saw as the positive aspects of the female (fertility, creation and life), leaving women with the negative aspects (perishability, death and decay).<sup>2</sup> This act of male usurpation did not go unnoticed; we find that many traditional peoples have myths that describe how spiritual and social power—often symbolised by secret/sacred objects<sup>3</sup>—once

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1. After drafting this paper, I discovered that some parallels between vampirism and blood-based rituals of tribal initiation had already been recognised by Walter Evans, “Monster Movies and Rites of Initiation,” *Journal of Popular Film* 4, no. 2 (1975): 124–42. His observations are acknowledged and discussed in my penultimate paragraph.
  2. Michele Stephen, “Male Mothers and Cannibal Women: A Kleinian Interpretation of Male Initiation in the New Guinea Highlands,” *Psychoanalytic Review* 90, no. 5 (October 2003): 615–53.
  3. Frequently, as Stephen, 615–53, and the references in notes 4–8 below reveal, the secret/sacred objects are musical instruments. These all bear sexual symbolism, for their sacredness is derived from the “sacred character of matriarchy, founded on the maternal

belonged to the women but was stolen from them by the men, who still control it today.<sup>4</sup> One can adduce examples from Papua New Guinea,<sup>5</sup> Australia,<sup>6</sup> South America,<sup>7</sup> and Africa.<sup>8</sup> A similar motif is found in many creation myths from the Mediterranean and ancient Near East. Accordingly, “The Greek and Babylonian myths closely resemble each other, since in both the main character at the center of the plot is the great mother (Tiamat, Gaea, or similarly, Anat, Baal’s mate in the Ugaritic myth), and in each instance power is transferred, after a bloody struggle, to a male god who rules the world.”<sup>9</sup> Later Greek myths, such as those recounting the defeat of the female Amazons by the misogynistic culture-heroes Heracles and Theseus, reprise the theme.<sup>10</sup> In Aeschylus’ *Oresteia*, matriarchy results in “the equation of the female with sterility and death”<sup>11</sup> which, naturally, requires that it be

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generative mystery;” Joan Bamberger, “The Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society,” in *Woman, Culture, and Society*, ed. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 264, 272.

4. Seymour Parker and Hilda Parker, “The Myth of Male Superiority: Rise and Demise,” *American Anthropologist* 81, no. 2 (June 1979): 292; and Froma I. Zeitlin, “The Dynamics of Misogyny: Myth and Mythmaking in the *Oresteia*,” *Arethusa* 11, no. 1/2 (Spring/Fall 1978): 151–52, 160.
5. Andrew Lattas, “Trickery and Sacrifice: Tambarans and the Appropriation of Female Reproductive Powers in Male Initiation Ceremonies in West New Britain,” *Man* 24, no. 3 (September 1989): 451–69, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2802701>; and Francisco Vaz da Silva, *Archeology of Intangible Heritage* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 55–56.
6. Alain Testart “Des Rhombes et des *tjurunga*: La question des objets sacrés en Australie” [Bullroarers and *tjurunga*: The question of sacred objects in Australia], *L’Homme* 33, no. 125 (January–March 1993): 32–35; Sylvie Poirier, *A World of Relationships: Itineraries, Dreams, and Events in the Australian Western Desert* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 204; and Christine Watson, *Piercing the Ground: Balgo Women’s Image Making and Relationship to Country* (Freemantle: Freemantle Arts Centre Press, 2003), 173–78.
7. Bamberger, “Myth of Matriarchy,” 268–80; and Yolanda Murphy and Robert F. Murphy, *Women of the Forest* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 87–95, <https://archive.org/details/womenofforesto0000murp>.
8. Toyin Falola and Nana Akua Amponsah, *Women’s Roles in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2012), 86–87.
9. Admiel Kosman, *Gender and Dialogue in the Rabbinic Prism*, trans. Edward Levin (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 163–64.
10. Zeitlin, “Dynamics of Misogyny,” 151.
11. Zeitlin, 159. The murdered female matriarch is represented by three avenging Erinyes (or Furies), three proto-vampiric females “who would pursue and suck the blood from their living victim” (Zeitlin, 159; see also Ruth Scodel, *An Introduction to Greek Tragedy* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010], 96), and who therefore anticipate by millennia the three vampire women (commonly referred to as “brides”) in Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, ed., intro. and notes Maurice Hindle (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 52–56, [https://archive.org/details/dracula0000stok\\_v3f6](https://archive.org/details/dracula0000stok_v3f6). The Furies originally sprang from blood that fell from the severed genitals of the supreme patriarch Uranus, whose castration was orchestrated by his wife, the earth-mother Gaea (Glenn W. Most, trans., *Hesiod: Theogony, Works and Days, Testimonia* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006], 17–21, <https://archive.org/details/hesiod-hesiod>); accordingly, they constitute the epitome of the “matriarchal dysfunction.” That the female vampire has always been a less comfortable (and thus less popular) paradigm than her male counterpart may simply reflect the enduring patriarchal

replaced by a fecundating patriarchy.<sup>12</sup> When the matricidal son Orestes is ritually reborn at the male-appropriated “world womb” of Delphi, “The implication of the scene is of rebirth from the male.”<sup>13</sup>

Myths empower through ritual, and the rites of traditional societies typically serve to justify and legitimise patriarchal authority. As Francisco Vaz da Silva explains, “Anthropologists have long ago realized that institutionalized attempts by men to figuratively fulfill female functions . . . reveal that men’s social authority involves symbolical appropriation of feminine power.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, in traditional societies, we often find a paradox whereby “sexuality is . . . opposed to fertility. It is associated with flesh, decomposition and women, while true ancestral fertility is a mystical process symbolised by the tomb and the (male) bones.”<sup>15</sup> Thus, for the Merina people of Madagascar, “physical birth – which is represented as an exclusively female activity – is polluting, and is subsequently transcended by the circumcision ceremony at which the child is torn away from the divisive and impure world of women to be born into the pure and undivided world of the [male] descent group.”<sup>16</sup> The belief structure of the Lugbara of Uganda and the Bara of Madagascar “identifies women with sexuality and sexuality with death. Victory over death . . . is symbolically achieved by a victory over female sexuality and the world of women.”<sup>17</sup>

In keeping with this paradigm, mythology typically portrays the afterlife as a masculine realm. In the Mesopotamian underworld, the only happy adults were the fathers with many sons.<sup>18</sup> The abduction of Persephone by Hades, ruler of the Hellenistic netherworld, shows the extent to which the Greeks considered his domain to be a man’s world.<sup>19</sup> Every ancient Egyptian hoped to become “an Osiris” after their death, but—despite periodic suggestions to the contrary—this assimilation to the male god does not seem to have required women to switch gender.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, to effect a woman’s rebirth into the afterlife, her Osirian form “acted as her own husband, her own wife, and her own mother. The depictions of herself in tomb decoration . . . stimulated her (male) fertility,”<sup>21</sup> since—in death, as in

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bias of all human societies—but this is to get ahead of the main argument.

12. Zeitlin, “Dynamics of Misogyny,” 159–60.

13. Zeitlin, 166–69.

14. Silva, *Archeology*, 51.

15. Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry, eds., *Death and the Regeneration of Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 21. On the universal maleness of bones, and their identification with sperm/seed, see Silva, *Archeology*, 15–16.

16. Bloch and Parry, *Death*, 24.

17. Bloch and Parry, 22.

18. Andrew George, trans., *The Epic of Gilgamesh: The Babylonian Epic Poem and Other Texts in Akkadian and Sumerian* (London: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 1999; London: Penguin Books, 2003), 177, 187–89. Citation refers to Penguin Books edition.

19. Steve Eddy and Claire Hamilton, *Understand Greek Mythology* (London: Hodder Education, 2012), 73–86.

20. Mark Smith, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 211–16.

21. Ann Macy Roth, “Father Earth, Mother Sky: Ancient Egyptian Beliefs about Conception

life—"the creative role is attached exclusively to the male sex."<sup>22</sup> We see the truth of this last statement in the recurring central drama of New Kingdom religion, i.e. the nightly union of the (male) sungod, Re, with the (male) Lord of the Dead, Osiris, in the Netherworld. This could be envisaged as a sexual encounter, with either Re or Osiris providing the womb in which the solar child would then gestate prior to his rebirth at the next sunrise.<sup>23</sup> For women in post-Pharaonic Egypt, female-to-male transgenering was presented as conducive to eternal life in the Gnostic *Gospel of Thomas* (ca. second century CE); there Jesus says: "For every female who makes herself male will enter heaven's kingdom."<sup>24</sup>

### Blood Rituals: Tribal and Vampiric

In the world of the living, feminine generative power is often symbolised by blood.<sup>25</sup> For example, among Australian Aborigines, one of the sacred objects restricted to men is the bullroarer, an aerophone instrument important in male rituals.<sup>26</sup> According to Alain Testart, the vulva-shaped and red ochre-coated bullroarer is in fact "le symbole de l'intériorité sanglante des femmes mais détachée de celles-ci, il est le symbole d'une intériorité dont les pouvoirs sont niés pour autant que les femmes sont concernées, et dont l'efficacité a été reportée sur les hommes"<sup>27</sup> (the symbol of the bloody interiority of women but detached from them; it is the symbol of an interiority whose powers are denied as far as women are concerned, and whose effectiveness has been transferred to men).<sup>28</sup> In initiation ceremonies, it is "l'utilisation rituelle de leur sang dont sont aspergés les initiés tout autant qu'ils sont enduits d'ocre rouge"<sup>29</sup> (the ritual use of the men's blood, with which initiates are sprinkled just as much as they are coated with red ochre), that ensures the rebirth of the boys into the world of men; they achieve true life through "le remplacement d'un sang féminin (incapable) par un sang masculin fonctionnant (capable) selon les facultés féminines"<sup>30</sup> (the replacement of female blood [incapable] by male blood [capable] which functions according to feminine principles).

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and Fertility," in *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, ed. Alison E. Rautman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 199.

22. Roth, 189.

23. Nehad Kamal El-deen, "The Unification of Re and Osiris in the Netherworld," *Yearbook of the General Union of Arab Archaeologists* [in Arabic], no. 13 (2010): 62–84, art. 125, <https://dx.doi.org/10.21608/cguua.2010.37714>.

24. Marvin Meyer, trans., *The Gospel of Thomas: The Hidden Sayings of Jesus* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992), 63 (logion 114).

25. Testart, "Rhombes et des *tjurunga*," 40, 43, 54, 56.

26. Testart, 35–45; and Serge Schoffel, *Dreamtime Records: An Early Art of the First Australians* (Brussels: Serge Schoffel – Art Premier, 2020), 9–10, <https://sergeschoffel.com/uploads/publications/dreamtime-light.pdf>.

27. Testart, "Rhombes et des *tjurunga*," 46.

28. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

29. Testart, 44.

30. Testart, 45.



In Central Australia, another male ritual object—the *tjurunga*—resembles the bullroarer in appearance and, like the latter, is coated periodically with a mixture of fat and red ochre symbolising female blood.<sup>31</sup> Acquired some years after initiation,<sup>32</sup> it is considered by Testart to extend and complete the male appropriation of female fertility by providing an exclusively masculine paradigm for human reproduction, one in which an ancestor-derived spirit-child emanates from the *tjurunga* and incarnates as an embryo in a nearby woman.<sup>33</sup> In this revisionist view of conception, all aspects of the “female” physiological process (interior, wet) have been inverted (external, dry),<sup>34</sup> as if female genitalia have been transformed into male ones—a change reflected in the elongated shapes of most *tjurunga*.<sup>35</sup>

Similarly, in classic examples of vampirism, one sees a negation of female agency in favour of male power; it is perhaps no accident that Count Orlok in Murnau’s *Nosferatu* (1922) looks “like a penis with teeth.”<sup>36</sup> The archetypal Gothic vampire is a domineering older male<sup>37</sup>—one whose suave looks may belie his true antiquity<sup>38</sup>—

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31. Testart, 46–47, 54–57.

32. Testart, 47; and Schoffel, *Dreamtime Records*, 10.

33. Testart, “Rhombes et des *tjurunga*,” 50, 54, 59.

34. Testart, 54–56, 60.

35. Schoffel, *Dreamtime Records*, 17. Although—as we shall see—the presence of a ready-made body for the undead “offspring” means that vampire propagation has no need of processes beyond the blood ritual analogous to tribal initiation, it does share one key feature with *tjurunga*-mediated conception in that both involve a cephalic contribution from the male (see note 56 below). Moreover, the properties of the *tjurunga* (= *churinga*) in Aboriginal culture have been likened to those of the corpse and of the undead in Western societies. Marika Moisseff, “Cadavres et *churinga*: Des objets culturels exemplaires?” [Corpses and *churinga*: Exemplary cult objects?], *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 61, no. 174 (April–June 2016), 255–78; vampire reference, 274.

36. *Nightmare: The Birth of Horror*, episode 2, “Dracula,” directed by Derek Towers, researched, written and presented by Christopher Frayling, aired December 18, 1996, on BBC 1, quoted in Ivan Phillips, “The Vampire with a Thousand Faces: Towards a Physiognomy of the Undead” (paper presented at the “Vampires: Myths of the Past and the Future” conference, Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies, University of London, London, November 3, 2011), [12], <https://www.academia.edu/1101773>. In other expressions of pure maleness, rising from the dead has been equated with penile erection and the vampiric visit has been likened to a nocturnal emission. Theodor Reik, *Ritual: Psycho-Analytic Studies*, trans. Douglas Bryan (London: Leonard & Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press / Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1931), 125; and Ernest Jones, *On the Nightmare* (London: Leonard & Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press / Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1931), 119–20.

37. On domination and coercion by the male vampire, see Marie Levesque, “The Figure of the Vampire as an Emblem of Tradition” (Master’s thesis, University of Montreal, 2014), 32, 70–72, 90–91. As per Marta Miquel-Baldellou, “From Pathology to Invisibility: The Discourse of Ageing in Vampire Fiction,” in “Ageing and Fiction,” ed. Emma Filtress, Nick Hubble, Joseph Norman and Serena Volpi, special issue, *EnterText*, no. 12 (2014), <https://www.brunel.ac.uk/creative-writing/research/entertext/documents/entertext110/6-entertext-ageing-baldellou-from-pathology-to-invisibility-the-discourse-of-ageing-in-vampire-fiction.pdf>, the literary vampire also had “a remarkable aged appearance during the Victorian period” (abstract, 102) when it was “the embodiment of pathology” (abstract), and “early portraits of the vampire in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* and its cinematic counterpart in

who preys on both sexes, but especially on women. He draws female blood into himself, makes it his own, and finally returns a token amount of the transformed elixir to his victims, thereby binding them to himself and, in many cases, bestowing upon them his own nature. This haematological motif has folkloric antecedents. From the late seventeenth century onward, it was believed in Slavic and adjacent lands that attacks by a vampire could be curtailed by ingesting blood extracted from the relevant corpse, blood which was consumed either as a liquid or after including it in bread.<sup>39</sup> Sufficient protection might be conferred merely by eating soil from the vampire's grave and/or smearing the corpse's blood on the skin of the person seeking relief;<sup>40</sup> either way, the transfer of blood (or its substitute) was from vampire to victim.<sup>41</sup> The usual down-side of these actions was that the recipient was then condemned to become a vampire after their own demise,<sup>42</sup> irrespective of when or how they died.<sup>43</sup> For example, in Medveđa (southern Serbia) in 1731,<sup>44</sup> we are told of "A woman by the name of Stana, twenty years old, who had died in child-birth three

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Murnau's *Nosferatu* depict the vampire as an eminently old man who is truly even older than he actually looks" (102). See also Stoker, *Dracula*, 25–28.

38. "It is through deceit that the vampire pretends to be young, despite its blatant actual old age." Miquel-Baldellou, "Pathology to Invisibility," 95. Beyond this, the geriatric vampire of the Victorian period has given way over time to ever younger embodiments of the species in prose and film (abstract).
39. Augustin Calmet, *Traité sur les apparitions des esprits et sur les vampires ou les revenans de Hongrie, de Moravie, &c.* [Treatise on the apparitions of spirits and on the vampires or revenants of Hungary and Moravia, etc.] (Paris: Debure, 1751), 2:60–61; Paul Barber, "Forensic Pathology and the European Vampire," *Journal of Folklore Research* 24, no. 1 (1987): 24, 32n128, 32n130; and Thomas M. Bohn, *The Vampire: Origins of a European Myth*, trans. Francis Ipgrave (New York: Berghahn, 2019), 60–61, 138–46. The juxtaposition of bread and blood conjures up images of an anti-Eucharist or "Unholy Communion."
40. Barber, "Forensic Pathology," 24, including n129; Johnson, "Count Dracula," comparison 3; Bohn, *Vampire*, 3, 87, 147, 195–196; Ádám Mézes, "Georg Tallar and the 1753 Vampire Hunt: Administration, Medicine and the Returning Dead in the Habsburg Banat," in *The Magical and Sacred Medical World*, ed. Éva Pócs (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2019), 116; and Ádám Mézes, "Vampire Contagion as a Forensic Fact: The Vampires of Medveđa in 1732," *Historical Studies on Central Europe* 1, no. 1 (2021): 160.
41. Of course, such practices were likely to result in illness and/or death, thereby greatly inflating the toll attributable to the vampire. Mézes, "Georg Tallar," 116. When baked into bread (e.g. Calmet, *Traité sur les apparitions*, 2:60–61), the high temperature should have killed any pathogens but probably did not neutralise their toxins.
42. Contra Patrick Johnson, "Count Dracula and the Folkloric Vampire: Thirteen Comparisons," *Journal of Dracula Studies*, no. 3 (2001): 35, who seems unaware of the price that must ultimately be paid for consuming the blood of a vampire.
43. For example, Arnond Paole (= Arnold Paul = Arnaut Pavle), who was blamed soon after his demise in 1727 for several deaths in Medveđa in southern Serbia, had in life been harassed by a vampire in Kosovo. To protect himself, Paole had eaten soil from the vampire's grave and had smeared himself with the corpse's blood. Bohn, *Vampire*, 87; and Johnson, "Count Dracula," 35. Although doing this granted Paole immunity against his tormentor while alive, it "also meant that he would inevitably turn into a vampire after his death," as indeed he did after a fatal fall from a hay-wagon. Mézes, "Georg Tallar," 99; Mézes, "Vampire Contagion," 166–67.
44. Mézes, "Vampire Contagion," 158, 160.

months before, after a three-day sickness, and who had said before her death that she had painted herself with the blood of a vampire in order to be free of him, wherefore she herself, like her child . . . must also become vampires.”<sup>45</sup>

The motif of vampire-to-victim blood transfer was first applied to the literary vampire in Bram Stoker’s seminal novel, *Dracula* (1897). A traumatised Mina Harker relates the aged Count’s actions after he had slaked his thirst on her blood:

“Then he spoke to me mockingly, . . . “And you, their best beloved one, are now to me, flesh of my flesh; blood of my blood; kin of my kin; my bountiful wine-press for a while; and shall be later on my companion and my helper. . . . You have aided in thwarting me; now you shall come to my call. When my brain says ‘Come!’ to you, you shall cross land or sea to do my bidding; and to that end, this!” With that he pulled open his shirt, and with his long sharp nails opened a vein in his breast. When the blood began to spurt out, he took my hands in one of his, holding them tight, and with the other seized my neck and pressed my mouth to the wound, so that I must either suffocate or swallow some of the – Oh my God! my God! what have I done? What have I done to deserve such a fate, I who have tried to walk in meekness and righteousness all my days. God pity me! Look down on a poor soul in worse than mortal peril; and in mercy pity those to whom she is dear!”<sup>46</sup>

Such actions have a clear parallel in the male initiation ceremonies of Aboriginal Australia.<sup>47</sup> As the anthropologist A. P. Elkin explains, in an early ritual the elders perform bodily operations on the novices (circumcision, sub-incision, etc.) which shed their blood.<sup>48</sup> A subsequent ceremony

consists of anointing the newly initiated with arm-blood from the older men, or else giving them some of this to drink. The older men also anoint themselves or each other and drink blood. This blood is sacred; there is a secret name for it, and it is usually associated with some mythical hero’s act. It gives life, strength and courage and so fits the candidates for the revelations which are to be made. At the same time it unites them to the elders of whose blood they have partaken; indeed, it does more; it unites them to the initiation heroes, for the blood taken under such conditions is the hero’s

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45. Barber, “Forensic Pathology,” 2. The initial vampire of Medveda, Arnond Paole, is described in note 43 above. The law of contagion—a principle of sympathetic magic—meant that the child was doomed by its intimate association with Stana’s vampire-tainted body. Mézes, “Vampire Contagion,” 160.

46. Stoker, *Dracula*, 370–71.

47. As a continuation of note 1, I should acknowledge that the resemblance was mentioned in passing by Evans, “Rites of Initiation,” 136; his observations are discussed in my penultimate paragraph. Incidentally, as of late 2021, the usually separate worlds of Aboriginal Australia and vampire predation find themselves juxtaposed in the AMC+ television series *Firebite*. See Luke Buckmaster, “Firebite Review: Warwick Thornton’s Exhilarating Vampire Series Will Have You Hooked,” review of *Firebite*, AMC+ (US), created by Warwick Thornton and Brendan Fletcher, *Guardian* (Australia edition), December 15, 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2021/dec/15/firebite-review-warwick-thorntons-exhilarating-vampire-series-will-have-you-hooked>.

48. Elkin, *The Australian Aborigines: How to Understand Them*, 4th ed. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1964), 197–98, 204–5, [https://archive.org/details/australianaborig/0000apel\\_d3/v3](https://archive.org/details/australianaborig/0000apel_d3/v3).

or ancestor's life, and so to drink it, brings the initiated into the mythical world.<sup>49</sup>

The actions of the vampire and tribal elder are clearly similar in form,<sup>50</sup> and even the perceived difference in morality may be an illusion.<sup>51</sup> However, under no circumstances should this parallel be used in a misguided or malicious manner to defame Aboriginal or other First Nations peoples;<sup>52</sup> it merely points to the existence of a deep-rooted cultural template that spans both pre- and post-industrial human societies.

Many literary paradigms of vampirism require a reciprocal exchange of blood between vampire and host, like that between Dracula and Mina, in order to bestow immortality upon the victim. As with traditional initiation ceremonies, the death and rebirth of the neophyte (in this case, into eternal undeath) is achieved by an initial withdrawal of blood from the junior party, followed by a symbolic or actual consumption of the magically potent blood of the elder male. This is the case in Ann Rice's *Vampire Chronicles* (1976–2018), where the “Dark Gift/Trick” is essential to creating a new vampire.<sup>53</sup> The necessity for reciprocal blood exchange in “siring” a new vampire was also retained in—and greatly popularised by—the television series *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1997–2003).<sup>54</sup> In Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight Saga* (2005–2020), a vampire's bite infects the victim with a venom that will transform them into a vampire if it does not kill them;<sup>55</sup> absorption of this venom is, of course, analogous

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49. Elkin, 206.

50. The parallels between the senior vampire and tribal elder become even more marked in Ann Rice's *Vampire Chronicles* (1976–2018), given that “her vampires go through a thorough training process with their sire once the transformation is completed” in order to understand the collective origins and traditions of their community, including its secret/sacred mysteries. Levesque, “Figure of the Vampire,” 41; see also 43, 62–64, 93.

51. While the elders are ostensibly helping the novices by fortifying them to withstand the attacks of a supernatural predator, it is actually they who are terrifying and inflicting pain on their charges. Reik contends that, in retaliation for the Oedipal desires of their sons, “The fathers identify themselves with the balum monster. It is they who harbour those wicked impulses against the neophytes which are ascribed to the monster.” *Ritual*, 104–6. Reciprocally, we might note that “in *Dracula*, Stoker makes . . . a quite blatant demonstration of the Oedipus complex” with the eponymous Count in the role of vengeful father. Maurice Richardson, “The Psychoanalysis of Ghost Stories,” *Twentieth Century* 166, no. 994 (December 1959): 427, [https://archive.org/details/sim\\_twentieth-century\\_1959-12\\_166\\_994](https://archive.org/details/sim_twentieth-century_1959-12_166_994).

52. Racist slurs denigrating male elders from tribal cultures as vampires would be as absurd as they would be odious.

53. Levesque, “Figure of the Vampire,” 28–30, 44; and Julia O'Connell [TheGothicLibrarian, pseud.], “The Ever-Changing Characteristics of Vampires,” *Gothic Library* (blog), August 24, 2020, <https://www.thegothiclibrary.com/the-ever-changing-characteristics-of-vampire-s/>.

54. In season 1, episode 1, “Welcome to the Hellmouth,” Buffy pertly explains that “To make you a vampire they have to suck your blood. And then you have to suck their blood. It's like a whole big sucking thing. Mostly they're just gonna kill you.” “Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Season 1 Quotes,” Quotes.net, accessed December 31, 2021, <https://www.quotes.net/show-quote/11828>.

55. O'Connell, “Ever-Changing Characteristics.”

to the ingestion of vampire blood by victims in the other paradigms.

## A Masculine Template

In all cases, vampiric rebirth is achieved via biting/sucking and is thus mediated by the head—such mediation being a trope common to “male-only” conception/birth paradigms from sources as disparate as Greek myth and indigenous Australian belief.<sup>56</sup> Moreover teeth, by being white like bones, brains and semen, are mythologically male.<sup>57</sup> As hard white projections from the head, teeth are identified both with male ancestral bones and—like animal horns—with male potency,<sup>58</sup> and are thus a uniquely masculine synthesis of both *thanatos* and *eros*. In nature, elongated canine teeth are a male prerogative,<sup>59</sup> while in supernature, “Dracula’s fangs . . . are borderline phallic symbols.”<sup>60</sup>

While literature does afford a number of female vampires—Sheridan Le Fanu’s *Carmilla* (1871–72) provides an early example—and while modern storytellers have brought countless innovations to the genre,<sup>61</sup> the stereotypical vampire in the

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56. For ancient Greece, subsequent to the goddess Athena’s birth from the head of Zeus, “male generative creativity is displaced from phallos to head,” Zeitlin, “Dynamics of Misogyny,” 169. Likewise, for Central Australia, Testart “Rhombes et des *tjurunga*,” 57, speaks of “l’équivalence . . . entre tête et *tjurunga*” (the equivalence . . . between head and *tjurunga*), where the latter is the ancestral and ultimately phallic reservoir of spirit-children awaiting incarnation (see note 35 above). Any “rebirth into undeath” that requires the vampire’s bite to be reciprocated via the ingestion of its blood by the victim is, of course, doubly cephalic.
  57. Gil Anidjar, “We Have Never Been Jewish: An Essay in Asymmetric Hematology,” in *Jewish Blood: Reality and Metaphor in History, Religion and Culture*, ed. Mitchell B. Hart (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 38.
  58. Silva, *Archeology*, 16–17. Justin Glenn, “Tooth Symbolism in Herodotus,” *Psychoanalytic Review* 65, no. 3 (1978): 471–73, exposes the long history of tooth-phallus equivalence in symbolism.
  59. Parker and Parker, “Myth of Male Superiority,” 297.
  60. Oliver Tearle, “The Curious Symbolism of Teeth in Literature and Religion,” *Interesting Literature* (blog), [July 2021], <https://interestingliterature.com/2021/07/teeth-symbolism-in-literature-religion-myth-meaning-analysis/>. See also Levesque, “Figure of the Vampire,” 25–26, 74, 90, 94.
  61. In addition to the formerly latent romantic intrigue and sexual tension/transgression having been made explicit, the genre has been modernised by endowing vampires with complex personalities, existential angst, soulful remorse, and other sensitivities. Indeed, over the past forty years, the male vampire of literature, cinema and television has undergone a progressive emasculation, such that he “is no longer strong, proud, and supreme. He is found to be soft, emotional, and unable to resist the humanism which arose during the mid-19th century.” R. J. Jacob, “Vampires without Teeth,” *Attack the System*, October 31, 2012, <https://attackthesystem.com/2012/10/31/vampires-who-dont-drink-blood/>. For similar sentiments, see Veronica Hollinger, “The Vampire and the Alien: Gothic Horror and Science Fiction,” in *Bram Stoker’s “Dracula”: Sucking through the Century, 1897–1997*, ed. Carol M. Davison; with the participation of Paul Simpson-Housley (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), 225–26; and Kristian Pérez Zurutuza, “Images of Diluted Masculinity of Contemporary Vampire Characters through Racial Discourse in Modern

popular imagination remains that of the senior (if deceptively spry) male bloodsucker with a commanding presence who preferentially preys on young women.<sup>62</sup> This undoubtedly reflects the formative influence of Stoker's *Dracula* on the vampire genre,<sup>63</sup> but to enquire no further would be to overlook the deep psychological resonance of the cliché. Firstly, psychoanalysis has long recognised the detailed "correspondence between myths and ritual observances of ancient societies and the fantasy material of modern individuals."<sup>64</sup> Secondly, enduring literary and cinematic tropes succeed because they provide a "response to some inexplicable, deep-seated, and unsatisfied cravings in the audience."<sup>65</sup> Thirdly, even modern Western societies retain a patriarchal bias, and the continuing infatuation (of both sexes) with the authoritarian and androcentric empires of past civilizations has recently led a female Egyptologist, Prof. Kara Cooney, to ask whether our "deep obsessions with the ancient world . . . are really symptoms of an ongoing addiction to male power that we just can't kick?"<sup>66</sup> Given these three premises, I would suggest that the archetypal status of the domineering male vampire derives, in part,<sup>67</sup> from the fact that his

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American Gothic," *International Journal of Arts & Sciences* 9, no. 2 (2016): 335–56, <http://www.universitypublications.net/ijas/0902/pdf/M6K33.pdf>.

62. E.g., Benson Saler and Charles A. Ziegler, "Dracula and Carmilla: Mythmaking and the Mind," in *Vampires: Myths and Metaphors of Enduring Evil*, ed. Carla T. Kungl (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2003), 17–20; Phillips, "Vampire with a Thousand Faces," [1]; and Evans, "Rites of Initiation," 142n27.
63. "The Count became so embedded in people's imagination – even centuries later – that he became the vampire by which all other vampiric figures are eventually measured." Levesque, "Figure of the Vampire," 12. Similar sentiments abound outside academia, e.g. "Dracula has become the definitive vampire archetype; an iconic, instantly recognisable figure, referenced, parodied, pastiched and paid homage to in a myriad different ways." Steve Balshaw, "Bram Stoker Centenary: The Creation of Dracula – Part One," *Mancunian Matters*, July 17, 2012, <https://www.mancunianmatters.co.uk/life/17072012-bram-stoker-centenary-the-creation-of-dracula-part-one/>. It is worth reiterating that Stoker's *Dracula* had a visibly aged body (note 37 above).
64. Joseph L. Henderson, *Thresholds of Initiation* (1967; repr., Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 11; <https://archive.org/details/thresholdsofinitooohend>, similarly, 107.
65. Evans, "Rites of Initiation," 133.
66. Alison Hewitt, "Renowned Egyptologist Says It's Time to Stop Romanticizing Ancient Egypt," news release, UCLA, December 6, 2021, <https://newsroom.ucla.edu/releases/egyptologist-kara-cooney-good-kings-book>. Ancient Egypt has particular relevance to the current discussion because two of its defining characteristics are the androcentric and autocratic nature of Egyptian kingship and the culture's extraordinary preoccupation with death and the afterlife, the latter being ruled (as noted earlier in the main text) by the male god Osiris. While one might expect an authoritarian patriarchy fixated upon post-mortem gratification to be distasteful to some males and most females in modern liberal democracies, the ancient Egypt of popular (and, in Cooney's view, scholarly) imagination is instead a magnificent and alluring construct. Of course, in vampiric patriarchies, death and post-mortem gratification are a given and the master-vampire's power is most often absolute. On the latter, see Levesque, "Figure of the Vampire," 37.
67. There are, of course, innumerable other resonances. For example, his cachet as a seducer and sexual corrupter of naïve and impressionable girls makes him a cautionary figure in a societal allegory. See Walter Evans, "Monster Movies: A Sexual Theory," *Journal of Popular*

behaviour conforms to the pattern established by the masculine culture-heroes of world mythology, those misogynistic male instigators—whether gods or ancestors—whose patriarchal legacy dominates the world’s pre-industrial societies and lurks just beneath the surface of its post-industrial ones.<sup>68</sup>

## Conclusion

Some parallels between vampirism and blood-based rituals of tribal initiation were previously recognised by Walter Evans.<sup>69</sup> Most pertinently, he says: “[A. P.] Elkin reveals that among the rituals nearly every Australian initiate undergoes one of the most important is the ‘blood ceremony,’ one which parallels the periodic bloodlettings monster movies associate with werewolves and especially vampires.”<sup>70</sup> Evans’ overall thesis is that “Monster movies respond to a deep cultural need largely ignored in Western society, the need for rituals of initiation,”<sup>71</sup> but the focus of his paper—which spans all kinds of monster but is restricted to cinema—is quite different to the present one. His paradigm concerns not the mature male monster and his young female victim but the young male hero-to-be (with whom the target audience identifies)<sup>72</sup> and his venerable male mentor (“the Van Helsing figure”).<sup>73</sup> Accordingly, Evans makes no mention of the primeval gender antagonism that is integral to the symbolism of blood in the tribal and vampire contexts, does not consider the related traditions attached to the folkloric vampire, and places quite a different interpretation on the age/sex dimension to the canonical literary/filmic vampire and his prey.<sup>74</sup>

To sum up, we have seen that the archetypal vampire and the initiatory culture-hero have much in common. Both carry the authority of antiquity: the vampire through his preternaturally great age and ancient pedigree,<sup>75</sup> the culture-hero

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*Film 2*, no. 4 (Fall 1973): 361–63.

68. Recognition and rejection of the misogyny underpinning the archetype is of course what has compelled more recent creators of vampire fiction—especially female authors—to increasingly emasculate and feminise their male leads, as acknowledged in note 61 above. With the emergence of the peppy young female Slayer as a triumphant nemesis for the odious older male vampire (Debra Jackson, “Throwing Like a Slayer: A Phenomenology of Gender Hybridity and Female Resilience in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*,” *Slayage* 14, no. 1 [43] [Winter 2016], [https://www.whedonstudies.tv/uploads/2/6/2/8/26288593/jackson\\_slayage\\_14.1.pdf](https://www.whedonstudies.tv/uploads/2/6/2/8/26288593/jackson_slayage_14.1.pdf)), the subversion of the patriarchal trope really ought to have been complete—yet the Dracula figure remains such a deeply ingrained touchstone in the collective psyche that, like a true vampire, it refuses to die.

69. Evans, “Rites of Initiation.”

70. Evans, 135.

71. Evans, 124–25.

72. Evans, 125–26.

73. Evans, 127.

74. Evans, 142n27; see also note 67 above.

75. This lineage may be aristocratic, vampiric, or both. Alluding to both his age and his human ancestry, Dracula says: “Here I am noble; I am *boyar*; the common people know

through his presence *in illo tempore* and the re-enactment of his deeds by the grizzled tribal “law man.”<sup>76</sup> Both protagonists cause their targets to lose blood such that they notionally die. Both abrogate the power of women by usurping female fertility in favour of a “second birth” through purely male agency. Both protagonists achieve this resurrection—paradigmatically, at least—by replacing young female blood with elder male blood,<sup>77</sup> the latter being ingested by the victim/novice or applied to their skin. And, lastly, both of the resulting rites of passage confer a new and irrevocable identity on the junior party, one that removes them from the ephemeral “female” world of perishable flesh and inducts them into the immutable “male” world of the ancestors and the tomb, a quintessentially masculine domain in which they are symbolically (for initiates) or physically (for vampires) granted victory over death.

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me, and I am master. . . . I have been so long master that I would be master still – or at least that none other should be master of me.” Stoker, *Dracula*, 31–32.

76. Once again, readers are expressly warned against misrepresenting such parallels as justification for negatively portraying male elders from indigenous tribal societies as vampiric, evil or inhuman. To do so would be both obnoxious and inane.
77. In myth, the stolen blood is always female in origin; it represents the birth-giving power of the mother, which is then appropriated by the father. In ritual initiations, the stolen blood is physically that of the boys, but—as the neophytes are still children and thus identified with their mothers—it is notionally female. Moreover, the blood is typically shed as a result of penile circumcision and/or sub-incision; not only is genital bleeding normally a marker of femininity (Evans, “Rites of Initiation,” 136) but sub-incision yields “ouverture du pénis explicitement assimilée à un vagin” (an opening of the penis that is explicitly assimilated to a vagina). Testart, “Rhombes et des *tjurunga*,” 61n12. Likewise, there is gender slippage when the canonical male vampire attacks a man; the feminisation that penetration and bleeding imputes to the victim is obvious. On the male homoerotic themes in *Dracula*, see Maurice Hindle, introduction to Stoker, *Dracula*, xxviii–xxx; and Christopher Craft, “Kiss Me with Those Red Lips’: Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*,” *Representations* 8 (Fall 1984): 107–33, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928560>.



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# The Significance of “The Vampire of Vourla” to Nineteenth-Century Vampire Fiction

ÁLVARO GARCÍA MARÍN  
*University of Málaga, Spain*

ABSTRACT: “The Vampire of Vourla” is a recently-discovered English short story published in 1845. It is entitled to claim a major place in the canon of vampire literature, even to rewrite it in a number of ways. Two aspects make it especially significant: (1) it recovers the Greek connection lost (or thwarted) for vampire fiction in the 1820s, and (2) it anticipates several motifs used in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* over fifty years before the latter’s publication.

KEYWORDS: British literature · Hellenism · philhellenism · Gothic fiction · frame narratives

Despite its variety, the canon of nineteenth-century vampire fiction seems complete; rarely are previously unnoticed novels or stories discovered, let alone regarded as milestones of the genre. Nevertheless, a thorough search in annuals, journals, gift books, and other second-rank (in terms of contemporaneous aesthetic and social prestige standards) literary publications can still yield unexpected fruits. Fortunately, the increasing digitization of historical print resources—and, more importantly, the accessibility of online term searches—now makes it easier to unearth new significant texts able to offer fresh insights into the history of the genre.<sup>1</sup> As long as their recovery compels us to interrogate the reasons why they were forgotten or ignored, these pieces allow us to tackle largely unaddressed issues concerning the literary politics of vampire fiction: what were the standards for canon formation or the principles for inclusion and exclusion at each stage, and whether they were just determined by intrageneric criteria (aesthetic or otherwise) or relied as well on external, wider discursive structures.

This is the case of “The Vampire of Vourla,” an anonymous short story, which I found during a routine web search. After reading it, I was amazed to discover that the story was completely unknown to scholarship. No trace of it seemed to exist after its first publication, neither in anthologies nor academic literature. And yet, some of its features—not to mention its superb quality—would entitle it to claim a place in a canon of nineteenth-century vampire fiction. The story challenges some of our current assumptions about the chronology of nineteenth-century vampire fiction, especially regarding “first times” for several motifs.

Using a classic teleological reading that sees Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897) as an

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1. The value of these digital resources is evident in Anthony Hogg, “On Finding the Earliest Known Use of *Nosferatu*,” *Journal of Vampire Studies* 2, no. 2 (2022): 199–205, which reveals the author’s use of Google Books to debunk the notion that the word, *nosferatu*, originated with Emily Gerard.—Ed.

end point in the genre's first century,<sup>2</sup> I will argue that "Vampire of Vourla" foreshadows several elements of Stoker's novel by more than fifty years. The aim of this article is to scrutinize the causes behind the story's oblivion and to shed light on the reasons why it should be considered a new landmark of vampire literature.

## "The Vampire of Vourla"

### *Source and Authorship*

I included the story in *The Vampire of Vourla, and Other Forgotten Greek Vampire Stories*, an anthology of (mostly) obscure nineteenth-century stories. First published anonymously in *The Chaplet*,<sup>3</sup> I am unclear whether the publication was a gift book or literary magazine. However, its miscellaneous content and stylish design leads one to believe it was likely the former.

The story's publication date is also a little murky. A copy of the book displayed on Google Books, for example—which was my first source for the story<sup>4</sup>—is dated 1845. It was scanned from the British Library's collection, with the library's listing for the book citing "c. 1845" as its year of publication. Other online catalog records of libraries holding copies of *Chaplet* use the same date, and there is no reason to doubt its plausibility. Although the volume does not bear any issue number or date on its title page, 1845 is provided as the publication date of twenty-six of the twenty-seven plates within the book, underneath the plate captions. These dates are illegible in the Google Books scan, but visible in a hard copy version of the book I purchased from Antiquariat Petersen (<https://www.antiquariat-petersen.de/>), a Berlin-based online shop. Indeed, twelve of the plates specifically cite January 1, 1845, as their publication date which might suggest a "compromise date" for a material issued in 1844. However, the twentieth plate is dated November 1, 1845,<sup>5</sup> indicating that the volume was presumably published by the end of that year (gift books were generally released

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2. William Hughes articulates this best: "The glib insistence – common to both academic criticism and the continuing discourse of Gothic writing – that the vampire and Count Dracula have become effectively synonymous has seriously inhibited the debate on the portrayal and signification of the un-dead in Gothic fiction. . . . The eponymous anti-hero of Bram Stoker's 1897 novel has become *the* reference point to which the characteristics of other vampires are judged to have adhered, or to have departed from." "Fictional Vampires in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *A Companion to the Gothic*, ed. David Punter (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 143, [https://archive.org/details/companiontogothic/university\\_of\\_oxford](https://archive.org/details/companiontogothic/university_of_oxford).
  3. [Anonymous], "The Vampire of Vourla; Leaves from a Mediterranean Log," in *The Chaplet; An Elegant Literary Miscellany, with Twenty-Seven Highly Finished Engravings on Steel, from the Most Eminent Artists* (London: J. Harwood, ca. 1845), 60–78, <https://books.google.es/books?id=uQlgAAAAcAAJ>. In fact, finding this sensational story was my main motivation to create the aforementioned anthology.
  4. See note 3 above.
  5. David Roberts, *Irun, from the Bidassoa*, engr. J. Cousen, November 1, 1845, in *Chaplet*, between 148 and 149.

in November or December).<sup>6</sup> The story, consequently, must have been written no later than 1845.<sup>7</sup>

The story's authorship was harder to determine; it is uncredited and the few authors of the poems, short stories or travelogue fragments who do receive a byline in the volume are listed only by their initials. No editor is credited, but the names of the book's artists and engravers are credited in the book's "List of Plates" and under the plates. Unfortunately, no illustrations were rendered for "Vampire of Vourla."

### *Plot*

The story is recalled by Tom Gahan, the former servant of Lieutenant Somers, a handsome, approximately 22-year-old official of the British Navy stationed in a warship at Vourla Bay, off the coast of Asia Minor, near Smyrna. During one of Somers' solitary hunting rambles along the shore, a sudden thunderstorm forces him to seek shelter in a mysterious, ancient-looking mansion that appears out of nowhere in the middle of the night. An enigmatic song lures him into the building. There, he finds Heira, a beautiful Greek woman and, as if under some kind of spell, suddenly falls in love with her. His advances are instantly accepted, but she makes an uncanny plea: "Will you swear by your life-blood? Will you mingle it with mine? Will you pledge with me to our eternal fidelity?"<sup>8</sup> Blinded by passion, Somers consents, and, after having the veins of his arm opened with a dagger and his blood drunk by the woman from a crystal bowl, he spends the night with her. In the morning, however, Heira entreats him to leave before the sun is up and to come back in the late evening. By sunset, indeed, an enigmatic boat with two eerie, silent rowers fetches him from the ship and takes him again to the mansion. This activity continues night after night for nearly two weeks, during which Somers grows paler and weaker every day. He becomes so frail he cannot even get up and visit his lover. The ship's doctor tries to bleed him to save his life, but he is found to be almost completely drained. Then, in his last hours, while lying motionless in a cot, a strange creature attacks him. Shortly after, Somers dies.

### *Critical Analysis*

My analysis of this startling short story will focus on two reasons why I think "Vampire of Vourla" deserves a major place in the canon of nineteenth-century vampire fiction: (1) it sets vampirism in a Greek context as late as 1845, when Greece

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6. Theodore G. Striphas, *The Late Age of Print: Everyday Book Culture from Consumerism to Control* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 7–8.

7. That said, several of the plate publication dates in a copy of the volume owned by the editor appear to cite an earlier date, suggesting an earlier publication followed by a reprint. [See Anthony Hogg, "Publication Date of 'The Vampire of Vourla,'" *Journal of Vampire Studies* 3 (2023): 91–94.—Ed.]

8. Anonymous, "Vampire of Vourla," 71.

had been either erased from the genre or gradually pushed to its margins, making it the last full-fledged horror narrative of the Greek undead in European literature before the second half of the twentieth century and a real rarity; and (2) it contains several pre-*Dracula* motifs. Examining these two components will enable us to draw additional conclusions about the history of vampire fiction as a genre and about the sophisticated strategies deployed by "Vampire of Vourla" to subvert several dominant discourses of the time and claim—somewhat against the grain—a canonic place in nineteenth-century vampire literature.

While discussing the first reason in some detail, we will also have the chance to pinpoint the causes of the story falling into oblivion.

## Greek context

*The rise and fall of Greek vampires in Western European literature.* As I have shown elsewhere, the first reports of vampirism to reach Western Europe at the beginning of the modern age came from Greece and primarily concerned the Greek vampire, *vrykolakas*.<sup>9</sup> So, it is scarcely surprising that when news about vampire cases in Austrian-ruled Serbia burst into Western media in 1732, the European public immediately turned to the Greek pattern, fixed in their consciousness for two centuries, to make sense of the accounts from the East. The newly introduced term, "vampire," might well be Serbian or widely Slavic,<sup>10</sup> but the ghastly tradition it designated had its origin in Modern Greek lore. Accurate or not, this opinion still prevailed in Western Europe by the turn of the nineteenth century.

Therefore, it is only natural that when the creature entered European literature at this point, it did so in a predominantly Greek form and setting. In fact, it would not be too far-fetched to say that the modern literary vampire emerged within the conceptual framework of Hellenism and Philhellenism, two complementary and intricately entwined Graecophilic discourses that dominated the Western cultural scene in this period. The former affirmed the inherent human superiority of ancient Greek civilization on all terrains and, most importantly, assumed that the modern West was its only legitimate heir. The latter promoted political independence for modern Greeks, precisely on account of their being the ethnic descendants of classic Hellenic culture, their contemporary incarnation of sorts, capable of resuscitation if liberated from their Eastern oppressors, the Ottomans.

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9. García Marín, "Haunted Communities: The Greek Vampire, or the Uncanny at the Core of Nation Formation," in *Monstrosity from the Inside Out*, ed. Teresa Cutler Broyles and Marko Theodorski (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2014), 109–42; "The Son of the Vampire': Greek Gothic, or Gothic Greece?," in *Dracula and the Gothic in Literature, Pop Culture and the Arts*, ed. Isabel Ermida (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 21–45; and *Historias del vampiro griego* [Histories of the Greek vampire] (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2017).
  10. See, for example, Kamil Stachowski, "Etymologies of *vampire* with *pirs* 'a feast,'" *Journal of Vampire Studies* 1, no. 1 (2020), 5–18.

It is impossible to ignore how much these two discourses were about historical articulation, the problematic connection between the present and the past, the living, and the dead, or, in other words, over temporal (dis)continuity. In that sense, much of their underlying logic and predicaments, as well as their rhetoric (especially the focus on “resurrection”<sup>11</sup>), strongly resonated with the paradoxical and unsettling nature of the revenant and, particularly, the undead. This is probably why they privileged the vampire—a figure they found to already be Greek—as a singularly efficient, albeit ambiguous, cultural allegory for both Hellenism’s historical anxieties<sup>12</sup> and Philhellenism’s political propaganda.

The two first milestones of the genre, Goethe’s “Die Braut von Corinth” (“The Bride of Corinth”) (1797) and Lord Byron’s *The Giaour* (1813), perfectly exemplify this double dimension, often inextricably intertwined. Both use Greek settings (ancient and modern, respectively) and drew on the modern Greek tradition—at least in the case of Byron<sup>13</sup>—to reflect on the trauma of departed Antiquity (the lost ideal) and the dubious, potentially uncanny effects of its desired recovery in modernity.

So, too, did John William Polidori in his tremendously successful 1819 novella *The Vampyre*, partially set in Greece, which marked the definitive transition of the creature “from high literary experiment to mass cultural phenomenon.”<sup>14</sup> This work, the original idea of which was produced in the legendary “ghost story challenge” held among Byron, Polidori, and the Shelleys on a 1816 summer night in Villa Diodati,<sup>15</sup> delineated the central core of the vampire’s modern fictional archetype that would eventually crystallize in the global imagination. It is certainly not a coincidence, as Claudia Lindén and Hans Ruin have noted, that “the literary vampire took its modern form within a circle of antiquity-loving British Romantics”<sup>16</sup> who, I should add, would in a few years prove eminent and engaged Philhellenes.

*The Vampyre*, written in the wake of Byron’s previous engagements with the

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11. I have explored this issue in some detail in García Marín, “The Pitfalls of Resurrection: Disquieting Hellenicities by the Time of the Greek Revolution,” in *Periferias de la Revolución: Contextos transnacionales de la insurrección griega de 1821*, ed. Álvaro García Marín and Eva Latorre Broto (Madrid: Asociación Cultural Hispano-helénica, 2021), 371–438.
  12. See Claudia Lindén and Hans Ruin, “The Vampire, the Undead and the Anxieties of Historical Consciousness,” in *The Ethos of History: Time and Responsibility*, ed. Stefan Helgesson and Jayne Svenungsson (New York: Berghahn, 2018), 34, for the vampire as a figure “tied up with historical breaks, intersections, trauma and anxiety,” which works as an allegory of modernity’s two-edged relationship with Antiquity, cultural nostalgia or anxiety over a rising historical consciousness founded upon a sense of break with the dead, irrecoverable past (32–53).
  13. Byron, *The Giaour: A Fragment of a Turkish Tale* (London: John Murray, 1813), 23n†, <https://books.google.es/books?id=4G5bAAAAQAAJ>, admits to having personally witnessed the consequences of vampire beliefs during his travels “in the Levant.”
  14. Lindén and Ruin, “Vampire,” 36.
  15. For a description of the event, see Mary Ellen Snodgrass, *Encyclopedia of Gothic Literature* (New York: Facts on File, 2005), s.v. “Polidori, John.”
  16. Lindén and Ruin, 32.



Greek undead—and noticeably against them<sup>17</sup>—was connected to the Philhellenic wave sweeping Europe at the time. It shaped the vampire in its most popular form as a Greek phenomenon tied to Greek scenarios particularly suited to address, or allegorize, Greek issues. Greece, of course, was not the only place where vampires originated in the minds of Europeans at the time—there was also Serbia, Hungary, or Poland; not yet Romania—but, as Polidori's novella became a best-seller throughout Western Europe, it once again solidified itself as their predominant venue.

While identifying the undead with Greece, however, Polidori simultaneously implanted in the figure a dialectical tension between universality and locatedness which was already rooted—as an exclusively positive trait, though—in the idealized conception of Greekness produced by modern Hellenism. The story's vampire, Lord Ruthven, is both a Western cosmopolitan subject nomadically moving "through and across nations"<sup>18</sup> (Byron himself was his model) and the disturbing embodiment of a peripheral folklore tinged with backwardness;<sup>19</sup> utter modernity and the atavistic persistence of dead history.<sup>20</sup> With Polidori, vampires become what Franco Moretti, apropos of *Dracula*, has designated "totalizing monsters"; a deterritorialized creature able to disengage itself from its local allegiances and prey upon the whole world.<sup>21</sup> In a sense, this tension has remained attached to the creature until today. It might respond to the fact that, as Santiago Lucendo has pointed out, the vampire "is not a figure imported from the 'East,' but rather a series of fears and fancies projected over a geographic territory badly or totally unknown . . . a culturally 'stitched' body, reflecting the historical, political, and social frameworks surrounding it, and it has served, both racially and geographically, as a space in which the fears and desires of a

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17. For an analysis of the connection between Byron's and Polidori's vampires, and their relationship with Greece and Philhellenism, see Ken Gelder, *Reading the Vampire* (London: Routledge, 1994), 24–41; Matthew Gibson, *Dracula and the Eastern Question: British and French Vampire Narratives of the Nineteenth-Century Near East* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 15–41; and García Marín, "Pitfalls of Resurrection," 395–404.

18. Gelder, *Reading the Vampire*, 40.

19. From this point of view, I do not totally agree with Gelder, who understands early vampire fiction as caught between the attempt to represent "the folk or 'the people' and their lore or superstitions as original to the nation" (40), and thus as a way to depict authentic cultural identity, and the transnational drive that "ceaselessly disturbs that identity by showing it to be always at the same time foreign to itself" (41). While this tension exists, my contention is that it is in the service of a deeper reflection on the intricate interpenetration of Western and Greek identity. As we will see below, the significance of this operation would differ considerably were we not dealing with Greece but with any other Eastern European culture. Folklore, in this sense, is far less influential in itself for the articulation (and negotiation) of Greek fictional vampirism than Gelder suggests, or at least works on a different realm.

20. Eleni Coundouriotis argues for a similar dialectic organizing in "*Dracula* and the Idea of Europe," *Connotations* 9, no. 2 (1999/2000), 143–59, <https://www.connotations.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/coundouriotis0902.pdf>.

21. Franco Moretti, "The Dialectic of Fear," *New Left Review*, no. 136 (November–December 1982): 68, <https://archive.org/details/dli.calcutta.07384>.

particular (i. e., dominant, 'ruling') culture can be played out."<sup>22</sup> Still, in this organization, universalizing as it may be, the vampire's Greek origin *does matter*. It is precisely as a Western-Greek hybrid (remember Percy Bysshe Shelley's "We are all Greeks"<sup>23</sup>), as a Philhellenic device drawing on the globalizing potential of transhistorical Greekness, that it can become universally meaningful.

In his attempt to vilify Byron, the most prominent Philhellene, Polidori, was surely criticizing Philhellenism,<sup>24</sup> but he was also warning Europeans against the wider dangers of the Hellenic compulsion.<sup>25</sup> His vampire arises in the contact between (Graecophilia's imaginary) Greece and the classicist West as a liminal product<sup>26</sup> that subsequently transcends its origins and strikes both modern Greeks and contemporary Europeans, occasioning their respective destruction. Certainly, critics, readers, and other authors did not miss this point and were highly problematized by Polidori's opinion. For his timing was at once the best and the worst: less than two years after the publication of *Vampyre*, an insurrection broke out among the Greeks of the East, marking the beginning of the War of Greek Independence (1821–32). It was the culmination of all Philhellenic hopes. The revival of Greece, unlike that of other Eastern peoples under Ottoman rule, "was thought to have the power to transform the lives and arts of the world, especially the Western part."<sup>27</sup> In other words, it was considered a universal venture, as totalizing a project for the civilized world as Polidori's vampire was a menace. As a result, many young men from Western Europe volunteered to fight the Ottomans and help Greece revive (note the vampiric undertones of this expression). The continent's public opinion massively supported the Greeks. The war also had, or had mainly, to do with the West's own identity. Since the mid-eighteenth century, Greece as an abstract

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22. Lucendo, "Return Ticket to Transylvania: Relations between Historical Reality and Vampire Fiction," in *Draculas, Vampires, and Other Undead Forms: Essays on Gender, Race, and Culture*, ed. John Edgar Browning and Caroline Joan (Kay) Picart (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 115.

23. Shelley, *Hellas: A Lyrical Drama* (London: Charles and James Ollier, 1822), viii, <https://books.google.es/books?id=f8oIAAAAQAAJ>.

24. On these issues, see Gelder, *Reading the Vampire*, 24–41; and Gibson, *Dracula and the Eastern Question*, 15–21.

25. For a more detailed account of this point, see García Marín, "Pitfalls of Resurrection," 401–404.

26. Both in folklore and in its modern Western reception, some scholars have observed, the vampire is an inherently liminal being associated with borders and cultural contrast, the mark of a certain "clash of civilizations." In that sense, Polidori is keeping with a tradition. See Thomas M. Bohn, *Der Vampir: Ein europäischer Mythos* [The vampire: A European myth] (Cologne: Böhlau, 2016), 10; Christian Begemann, Britta Herrmann, and Harald Neumeyer, "Diskursive Entgrenzung: Der Vampir in Schnittpunkt kultureller Wissenbestände" [Discursive delimitation: The vampire at the intersection of cultural knowledge], in *Dracula Unbound: Kulturwissenschaftliche Lektüren des Vampirs* (Freiburg: Rombach, 2008), 17–18; and, on a broader cultural dimension, Nina Auerbach, *Our Vampires, Ourselves* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

27. David Roessel, *In Byron's Shadow: Modern Greece in the English & American Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 15.

concept, regardless of historical delimitations, was universally thought to constitute the cradle of the modern West; a paragon of harmony, beauty, freedom, and rationalism that epitomized the values that European culture—in a period of reorganization of the world's "mental map"—wanted to make its spiritual core in an effort to stand apart from a number of developing Others.

At this juncture, it was critical for propaganda to depict the modern Greeks as fully Western subjects worthy of the Hellenic legacy they carried on their shoulders and were willing to reoffer to modernity. From this point of view, Greek vampirism and the totalizing threat projected in Polidori's novel as the uncanny reverse of Philhellenism's global scope doubly undermined the culturally substantial prevailing views of the age. To associate the vampire, a savage tradition of blood-thirsty horror, with the Hellenic, be it contemporary or not, had far-reaching implications for both Greece and the West. It entailed disrupting the idyllic image of classicist harmony fabricated by Hellenism and therefore "polluting" Greekness, the cultural cradle of European civilization, with "oriental" accretions that would disturb the genealogical narrative underpinning modern Western identity. As a result, it became imperative to disassociate Hellenism from monstrosity and the vampire (and vice versa), at least as regarded these universalizing dimensions. An anonymous critic gave vent to these anxieties in a paradigmatic manner in their review of James Robinson Planché's 1820 melodrama, *The Vampire*, for Irish theatrical paper, *The Stage*:

The scene—the early part of the scene—is Athens; but the superstition is not Athenian, is not Grecian: There are no Vampires in the splendid mythology of the ancients, rich as they are in the various and strange combinations of superstition. It is altogether a Turkish—an Oriental superstition. . . . Even were the scene laid in Greece, our youthful recollections of the *kalon kai agathon* (we are afraid of the Greek letters) would revolt from the foul association. The scene should be laid among the followers of Islamism; and mosques and Oriental verandas should have supplied the place of basaltic caverns and gothic halls: instead of the Highland kilt and graceful bonnet of Caledonia, we should have the no less graceful costume of the turban, the scarf, and the capote: instead of a British Earl, a Highland Chief, and a Christian Lady, we should have some Vizier or Pasha, some beauty of Circassia or Stamboul,—and for a Minister of the Gospel, as more *au fait* to the scene and the superstition, we should be more pleased to have heard of some doctor of the Koran or pious Dervish.<sup>28</sup>

Little did it matter that the Greece portrayed in the play was not that of "the ancients," but contemporary Athens. For Europeans at this point, "Greece" was a sweeping term designating a putative cultural continuum ranging from Homer to

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28. Unsigned review of *The Vampire; or, The Bride of the Isles*, by J. R. Planché, dir. Mr. Norman, Theatre Royal, Dublin, *Stage* (Dublin), May 10, 1821, 109, [https://books.google.es/books?id=95Q\\_AAAAYAAJ](https://books.google.es/books?id=95Q_AAAAYAAJ). It is important to note that Planché's initial preference for the setting was Eastern Europe, but Samuel Arnold, the manager of the Lyceum Theatre in London where the play premiered, forced him to choose Scotland for economic reasons: a set of Scottish dresses "were in stock" in the theatre at this point. For this part of the story, see *The Recollections and Reflections of J. R. Planché* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872), 1:39–40, <https://books.google.es/books?id=qjIAAAAYAAJ>.

modern-day Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire. This cultural continuum invariably conformed to classicist projections of idealized Antiquity (the “youthful recollections” the critic learned at school) and was identified with the West. So, how could the current custodians of the sublime Hellenic spirit, the highest of human civilizations, entertain a belief in vampirism, “one of the most extraordinary and most revolting superstitions which ever disturbed the brains of any semi-barbarous people”?<sup>29</sup> The brutality of this tradition, underscored in different press articles covering the issue in the 1820s and 1830s,<sup>30</sup> was incompatible with the understanding of Greekness that had become common currency at the time. No wonder then that the *Stage* critic was outraged at the bewildering conflation. Led by their preconceptions and by the urgency to straighten out the “mess,” they instinctively solved the dilemma by redrawing the geographical and cultural boundaries around the vampire: as a brutal belief, it belonged among Europe’s (i.e., Hellenism’s) Others, that is, in the Orient. It should be “laid among the followers of Islamism”: not surprisingly, among the Turks who were the archenemies of both Greeks and Europeans at this point.

*Cleansing the Greek vampire.* All of this might constitute the rationale behind the rather abrupt disappearance of Greece from vampire fiction in these years, as both the setting of the story and the monster’s purported place of origin. This is especially notable at a time when the vampire became a fashionable subject of popular literature that inundated European stages and bookstores. The spectacular success of Polidori’s novel gave rise to a torrent of sequels that spread through France, Britain, Germany, and other Western countries. Following Charles Nodier, Pierre-Frédéric-Adolphe Carmouche, and Achille de Jouffroy’s *Le vampire* (The vampire), a dramatic adaptation of *The Vampyre* in the summer of 1820 (which, in turn, inspired Planché play), the Parisian theatrical scene was taken over by vampires. London, Berlin, Amsterdam, Brussels and Madrid followed during the subsequent months, and this enthusiasm experienced a revival in 1823.<sup>31</sup> Shortly before this boom, in early 1820, Nodier had set the (aesthetic) stage for it in his review of the French translation of Polidori’s *Vampyre*, where he proclaimed the triumph of Romanticism and the monstrous in literature in accordance with the political juncture: “On sait où nous en

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29. D., “On Vampirism,” in *Original Papers*, vol. 7 of *The New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* (London: Henry Colburn, 1823), 142, <https://books.google.es/books?id=ONGRAAAAYAAJ>.

30. Some of them as an implicit comment on the aesthetic controversy sparked by the torrent of narrative and theatrical Polidori’s sequels that poured out in France, Britain, and Germany from 1820 onwards. See [Georges Bernard] Depping, “Du vampirisme” [On vampirism], *Révue encyclopédique* 7 (July 1820), 225–31, <https://books.google.es/books?id=OcEEAAAQAAJ>; D., “Vampyrism,” 140–49; and [Richard Alfred Davenport], *Sketches of Imposture, Deception, and Credulity* (London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1837), 273–79, <https://books.google.es/books?id=HDZRQeBVP2QC>.

31. For the theatrical vampire craze of the 1820s, see Roxana Stuart, *Stage Blood: Vampires of the 19th-Century Stage* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1994), 41–109.

sommes en politique; en poésie nous en sommes au *cochemar* et aux *vampires*"<sup>32</sup> (We know where we are in politics; in poetry, we are in the *nightmare* and the *vampires*). Had he written this piece just a year later, the political juncture, at least at the international level, would have been defined in part by Philhellenism and the struggle of the Greeks. That was the reason why the aesthetic triumph of Romanticism, marked here by the literary spread of vampires and contested by Classicist trends vying to retain control of the canon,<sup>33</sup> was counterbalanced by a final concession to Classicism or, more broadly, to Hellenism: the dramatic reduction and eventually the eradication of Greece from fictional vampirism. Particularly, as we will see, from the new totalizing dimension of vampirism.

A survey of the unauthorized sequels and adaptations of Polidori's story in the 1820s shows how, just a year after the resounding success of this Hellenic fable, the Greek element was at best marginalized even in direct adaptations of *Vampyre*. In most of these works, the Greek episodes were not displayed on stage or were relegated to minor interspersed narrations.<sup>34</sup> Gradually, though, Greekness was totally purged from the narratives, and vampirism was displaced to more easily otherizable locations, in a process that ran parallel to Greece's conceptual disengagement from Ottomaness and Balkaness occurring at the time.<sup>35</sup> Significantly, however, the vampire was not relocated to the entirely alien Ottoman world, as the *Stage* critic suggested, but to the liminal space of Slavic Europe, suitably suspended between civilization and barbarism<sup>36</sup>—and, of course, the other prominent source of vampire beliefs. The line demarcating the boundaries of the West had to be redrawn

32. Nodier, Review of *Le vampire*, by John William Polidori [Lord Byron, attrib.]; trans. H[enri] Faber, in *Mélanges de littérature et de critique*, arr. and pub. Alexandre Barginet (Paris: Raymond, 1820), 1:412, <https://books.google.es/books?id=Uuf3nnbqfzAC>.

33. Particularly the already mentioned articles by Depping, "Vampirisme," 225–31; and D., "Vampyrisme," 140–49.

34. In Cyprien Bérard's narrative continuation of Polidori's *Vampyre*, the novel *Lord Ruthwen, ou Les vampires* [Lord Ruthwen, or The vampires], 2 vols. (Paris: Ladvoat 1820), Google Books, the Greek element is already relegated to a secondary, incidental episode involving Cymodore, a woman in ancient garments who fights for the resurrection of the Hellenic spirit among her countrymen and is finally killed by Ruthven in the Arabian deserts.

35. For further information about this process, see Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 5–7, <https://archive.org/details/inventingruritanooogold>.

36. For Larry Wolf, Eastern Europe was constructed in the eighteenth century as an instance of intra-European alterity through what he terms "an intellectual project of demi-Orientalization," for it did not represent barbarism or the exact opposite of civilization but an intermediate stage between Europe and Asia. Greece, he claims, was excluded from this category due to the cultural weight of Hellenism. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 7–13. Christoph Augustynowicz, "'Trag mich nach Südamerika': Schauplätze der osteuropäischen Vampirliteratur des 19. Jahrhunderts und ihre Konnotationen" ["Bring me to South America": Settings of 19th century Eastern European vampire literature and their connotations], *Case Studies, Kakanien Revisited*, August 23, 2003, 1, <http://www.kanien-revisited.at/beitr/fallstudie/CAugustynowicz1.pdf>, refers to the vampire as a metonymy for Eastern Europe's strangeness.

to secure Greece a place well into *our* side of the gap. So, during the 1820s and the subsequent decades, Hungary, Moldavia or the Carpathians gradually replaced Greece as the cradle of vampirism and the vampire, in a rather short way to Transylvania via Serbia and Styria.<sup>37</sup> This steady shrinking of the Greek constituent within the fictional vampire is sometimes allegorized in a peculiarly literal manner. For example, in Alexandre Dumas's 1849 novel, *Les mille et un fantomes* (*One Thousand and One Ghosts*), Kostaki, the undead that terrorizes the Polish narrator in the Carpathians, is already just a quarter Greek.<sup>38</sup>

There was, however, another common strategy to de-Hellenize vampirism in fiction: internalization. The creature was frequently made a member of the home society (or a neighboring one) and, thus, the embodiment of some kind of intra-European regional, class, economic, or sexual otherness. This signaled a step further on the path towards de-folklorization and universalization of the monster as a totalizing threat. Vampires, like capital, have no specific nationality. They can appear and live anywhere. In some of the first theatrical versions of Polidori's *Vampyre*, a concession to internal exoticism—and to Ossianic reminiscences—is made by locating the story in Scotland (a choice, we have to say, which also bothered the *Stage* critic<sup>39</sup>). The uncanny resurrection of Walter's first wife in Ernst Raupach's

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37. It would be impossible to list here all the different Eastern European locations for vampirism in nineteenth-century fiction, so here are a few prominent examples: Hungary in Étienne-Léon de Lamoignon's *La vampire, ou La vierge d'Hongrie* [The female vampire, or The virgin from Hungary], 3 vols. (Paris: Mme Cardinal, 1825), Gallica; Dalmatia and Serbia in the vampire poems of Prosper Mérimée's *La guzla, ou Choix de poésies illyriques, recueillies dans la Dalmatie, la Bosnie, la Croatie, et l'Herzégowine* [The guzla, or A selection of Illyric poems gathered in Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia and Herzegovina] (Paris: F. G. Levrault, 1827), <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=SBdeAAAcAAJ>; Styria in [Joseph] Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla*, *Dark Blue*, December 1871, 434–48; January 1872, 592–606; February, 701–14; March, 59–78, ProQuest; or Moldavia in Aleksey Konstantinovich Tolstoy's "La famille du vourdalak: Fragment inédit des mémoires d'un inconnu" ["The Family of the Vourdalak"], written in 1839, but first published as a Russian translation titled "Семья вурдалака" in 1884. (For the original French text, see André Lirondelle, "Alexis Tolstoï: *La famille du Vourdalak*; Texte Français inédit," *Revue des études slaves* 26, no. 1–4 (1950): 14–33, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43271041>.) For a certain take—slightly different from my own—on the fictional vampire's transit to the East in the nineteenth century, see Lucendo, "Return Ticket to Transylvania," 117.

38. The Kostaki story spans four chapters in Dumas, *Les mille et un fantomes*, vol. 2 (Paris: Alexandre Cadot, 1849), chap. 4, "Les monts Krapachs" [The Carpathians]; chap. 5, "Le Château de Brankovan" [Brankovan's Castle]; chap. 6, "Les deux frères" [The two brothers]; and chap. 7, "Le monastère de Hango" [The monastery of Hango], <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5695748q>.

39. "WHY is the scene of *The Vampire* laid in Scotland?—In the romantic country of the kelpies and bogles, of the witches and warlocks—in that classic land, consecrated by the Weird Sisters, and by the genius of SHAKESPEAR—the introduction of a preternatural monster, unknown to the mythology of the Scots, and so abhorrent to their superstitions, is one of the grossest violations of taste and association which was surely ever attempted." Unsigned review of *The Vampire*, *Stage*, 109.

"Laßt die Todten ruhen" (1822)<sup>40</sup> takes place within the confines of Germany, the setting of the whole narrative. And, in the following decades, a variety of milestones of the genre will also feature localized vampires, such as James Malcolm Rymer's *Varney, the Vampyre* (1845–47) or "The White Maniac; A Doctor's Tale" (1867) by Mary Fortune, writing as "Waif Wander." Internalization soon became a standardized trait of vampire fiction which, despite *Dracula*, has reached the twenty-first century as perhaps the most widespread way to contextualize the monster.

*Negotiating the Greek vampire between Hellenism and orientalism.* Before total eradication, though, Greek vampirism was still negotiated in various ways in a final attempt to find a befitting place for Greece in European vampire literature—one that would not threaten Hellenism's broader assumptions about, and implications for, Western identity. This process, symptomatically, took place in an array of stories that appeared in marginal publications or non-conventional generic frames (travel accounts, children's literature, second-rate literary journals, or gift books), which never made it into the canon and are, for the most part, completely forgotten today. Furthermore, these texts constitute the perfect embodiment of the Greek vampire's ultimate path to oblivion, since they show at work the multiple concessions the creature had to make before failing to capture the global imagination and, as a result, becoming doomed to extinction. They followed basically three strategies, the last being a logical derivation of the other two:

- 1) To dissociate Greekness from the most hideous dimensions of monstrosity and thus to preserve its ideality, these narratives strive to split vampirism into two distinct, irreconcilable trends: the brutal, blood-thirsty version, which they attribute to Slavic peoples, and a milder form, involving just a sort of harmless *revenance*, specific to the Greek tradition from antiquity to the present.
- 2) They consistently re-folklorize Greek vampirism with the purpose of curtailing its globalizing scope. By presenting the *vrykolakas* as a local belief with an exclusively provincial range, an Oriental issue concerning Orientals—full of exoticism—the totalizing drive of the modern vampire is successfully kept away from Greece, preventing distressful intersections with (Phil)Hellenism's universalizing force.
- 3) As a natural consequence of the two previous points, the Greek vampire is de-gothicized. These stories might be romantic, comic, parodic, or exoticizing, but they are not horrifying. The vampire is disempowered: no longer a threat, let alone a global threat, it is reduced to a mark of the

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40. The story, translated into English as "Wake Not the Dead," is often wrongly attributed to Ludwig Tieck. See Heide Crawford, *The Origins of the Literary Vampire* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 87–96. [However, Crawford incorrectly claims the story was written and published in 1823 (87). That was actually the year the English translation was published, sans byline, in *Popular Tales and Romances of the Northern Nations*, vol. 1 (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall; and J. H. Bohte, 1823), 232–91.—Ed.]

amusing singularities of the East. Greece can never be a source of terror or unrest.

Produced during the War of Greek Independence by an ardent Philhellene, James Emerson Tennent's account of a Santorin vampire in *Letters from the Aegean* (1829),<sup>41</sup> is the earliest and maybe the most representative instance of this short trend. The narrative was not presented as a piece of fiction,<sup>42</sup> but disguised as the transcription of a recent real story told by a ship captain the author met near Santorini. As such, it is intended to illustrate a rather long description of vampire beliefs among the Greeks<sup>43</sup> with a contemporary case. This generic and epistemic masking probably conceals the determination to respect the Greek vampire's tacit ban from (Gothic) fiction—presenting it as *just* folklore—while, simultaneously, keeping Greece out of the conceptual realm of the new ghastly, savage totalizing monstrosity embodied by the blood-thirsty, transnational undead. After the Battle of Navarino in 1827, when Britain and the other European powers finally decided to intervene in the War of Greek Independence to ensure the new country's autonomy and incorporation into the West, the effort to preserve the *Hellenicity* of modern Greece, common throughout the 1820s since the outburst of the Revolution, became particularly strategic. Tennent's story, indeed, works hard to “occidentalize” Greek folklore and, accordingly, Greece itself. For, despite the author's claims, the narrative is unmistakably his original creation or, at least, a highly customized adaptation of the traditional tale seeking to make it conform to both the structural conventions of contemporaneous romantic literature and European expectations for the “regenerated” Greek culture. If, according to Stathis Gourgouris, Philhellenism is inherently anti-Hellenic because it substitutes a projection of Western values, aims and ideology for native Greek culture,<sup>44</sup> Tennent is performing here the ultimate Philhellenic gesture. By detaching the tale from its “original” epistemic and narrative context and imposing on it an acceptable Western generic frame, he is exerting a

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41. [Tennent], *Letters from the Aegean* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 2:93–119, <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=ipxmAAAacAAJ>. The account is reprinted from the book's American edition as “The Story of Demetrios Gkikas, the Vampire of Santorini,” in *The Vampire of Vourla, and Other Forgotten Greek Vampire Stories*, ed. Álvaro García Marín (Richmond, VA: Valancourt Books, forthcoming).

42. Several stylistic and structural features, such as the romanticized love story, the psychological depth of the characters and the compassionate attitude of the narrator, which starkly contrast with common narrative strategies of Greek folk songs and traditional stories, allow us to guess that this was a fictional or strongly fictionalized version of a popular tale.

43. Tennent, *Letters from the Aegean*, 2:84–93.

44. For Gourgouris, Philhellenism is a movement with an autoscopic nature, a particular form of Orientalism which engaged in the “activity of *representing* the other culture, which in effect means *replacing* the other culture with those self-generated, projected images of otherness that Western culture needs to see itself in: the mirrors of itself.” *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of the Greek Mind* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 140.



particularly subtle, discursive form of colonial violence typical of (Phil)Hellenism during the 1820s. While trying to recover or conserve the *vrykolakas* for (global) modernity, he essentially erases its cultural distinctiveness and renders it invisible.

Tennent's story relates the adventures of Demetrio Gkikas, the young son of a rich merchant from Santorini who, after being captured by the Turks during the War of Greek Independence, must convert to Islam to save his life. Abhorred by his countrymen on his return to the island, he dies alone, mourning his deceased lover, Estefania "Stefania" Sessini, only to come back from the grave as an extremely calm and gentlemanly vampire who wanders through the favorite spots of his former life, harming no one. As such, the story is more of a love-beyond-death type of narrative than a true horror fiction depicting the vicious, abject vampire prevalent at the time. Gkikas is a disempowered and re-nationalized vampire who excites pity, not horror. Tennent, however, is fully aware of this process of authorial "domestication" of the monster, which he carefully substantiates in his preliminary remarks as a distinctive trait of the Greek *vrykolakas* that dissociates it from the brutal Slavic undead: "this popular superstition, which varies from the vampire tales of Hungary, in the demons being merely attached to mischief and not addicted to blood, supposes the evil spirit to enter into the lately deceased body of his victim after internment and reanimating it, to visit the houses of his former friends, inflicting on them the bitterest torments and unceasing injury."<sup>45</sup> As long as they are Greek, thus, the *vrykolakes* need to be a milder, less monstrous, more humane version of the blood-thirsty revenants of the East. This gesture not only promotes modern Greece's "Westernness" on the eve of independence, but strategically bolsters the general assumption that the Greek people are just the contemporary incarnation of an ahistorical Hellenic culture that stands at the source of (European) civilization. In other words, it works to support the doctrine of historical continuity, critical to legitimizing the new nation, but also strives to preserve intact the ideality and purity of Greekness as the cradle of the harmonic, rational West.

Significantly, though he was the first, Tennent was not the only author to attempt such a dissociation. Just a few years later, Richard Alfred Davenport scrutinized the history of vampire beliefs and concluded that Ancient Greek narrations such as St. Stanislas' resurrection of a dead man or Phlegon of Tralles' tale about the undead Philinnion did not completely fit into the category of vampirism, for "in neither of these cases do we find a trace of the diabolical malignity which characterizes the Vampyre."<sup>46</sup> This assertion was more than just a historical remark; it was also a comment on the present, as is made clear a little later, when Davenport attempts to excise modern Greece from the list of countries that are home to the vampire: "But though Vampirism was known in Greece, it was far more prevalent in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland, Hungary, and Walachia."<sup>47</sup> The argument, indicative of a

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45. Tennent, *Letters from the Ægean*, 2:84–85.

46. Davenport, *Sketches of Imposture*, 276.

47. Davenport, 279.

trend, was systematized at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Cambridge classicist John Cuthbert Lawson, who mustered all his philological erudition to prove that in Greek Antiquity there existed a belief in mild, benevolent revenants that was later “contaminated” by Slavic traditions about vicious vampires.<sup>48</sup> The modern Greek *vrykolakas* was thus, as Ken Gelder has noted, “simultaneously indigenous and introduced – ‘genuinely’ Greek, and yet ‘undoubtedly’ Slavonic,”<sup>49</sup> but its more violent traits were completely imported, that is, alien to the Hellenic core of their culture. Lawson himself concludes that “the Greeks had believed in reasonable human revenants; the Slavs taught them to believe in brutish, inhuman vampires.”<sup>50</sup>

Tennent’s Demetrio Gkikas is one of those reasonable human revenants that desperately try to preserve the Hellenic dignity of vampirism by conferring on it a different, more humane form. But, while this tendency succeeded to a certain point in (survivalist) ethnography and the Classics, it left almost no traces in fiction. In fact, the strategy during the following years was in a sense the opposite: not to de-Orientalize Greece, but to re-Orientalize the Greek vampire with the aim of confining it in a provincial frame where it would leave globalizing Hellenism untouched. The new geostrategic order after 1830 played a prominent role in this development. Matthew Gibson has suggested that nineteenth-century vampire narratives “set in the Balkans and Near East” should be reconsidered “as being discussions of the region itself,”<sup>51</sup> and thus as political allegories.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, once Greece became an independent nation in 1830, Philhellenism began to decline, and the European Powers became increasingly concerned about the new state’s territorial claims in the East, which were liable to endanger the precarious stability of the region. Given the weakness of the Ottoman Empire, Greece dreamed of annexing further areas of the Levant inhabited by Greek-speaking populations—including Istanbul itself, to make it the capital of a restored Byzantine world. However, fearing that the Ottoman state’s collapse would provide Russia with an opportunity to expand into the Mediterranean, France and Britain were strongly interested in maintaining the *status quo* and vehemently opposed attempts by Greece or Egypt to attack the Ottoman periphery, often through military campaigns.

This might explain in part the twist in (the scarce) vampire fiction featuring Greece during the 1830s and ’40s. The anonymous story, “The Vampire Knight and His Cloud Steed” (1837); John Bowring’s “Vampires” chapter in *Minor Morals for Young People* (1839); and James K. Paulding’s “The Vroucolakas: A Tale” (1846)<sup>53</sup> are

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48. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 371–91, <https://archive.org/details/modern-greek-folklore-laws>.

49. Gelder, *Reading the Vampire*, 39.

50. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, 391.

51. Gibson, *Dracula and the Eastern Question*, 8.

52. Gibson, 8–11.

53. [Anonymous], “The Vampire Knight and His Cloud Steed,” in *The Keepsake for MDCCCXXXVIII*, [ed. Frederic Mansel Reynolds] (London: Longman, Orme, Brown,

all Orientalist fables that depict the *vrykolakas* as a mere Eastern superstition marking the backwardness and ethnic difference of Levantine peoples. They re-folklorize and re-provincialize the Greek vampire not only to keep it apart from the transnational, totalizing monster of Gothic European fiction but also to underscore Greece's belonging to the East, suggesting that it should remain confined to this political and conceptual realm instead of feeling legitimized to emulate the West in conquering and colonizing the Orient. The globalizing dimension of vampirism has been lost here. Everything happens exclusively among Greeks or *Oriental*s involved in strictly local conflicts concerning politics or ethnic strife within the Ottoman Empire. On the contrary, the narrators of the stories are ironic, emotionally detached Western voices that judge these *exotic* people and customs—strongly suggesting their inferiority—from a privileged discursive position imbued with cultural colonialism. They present the vampire in a mocking or condescending tone which neutralizes its potential horror by implicitly denying the tradition any truthfulness. Because of his or her epistemic superiority, the (Western) reader *recognizes* that this is just a superstition; the monster has no ability to frighten them. At best, it is a silly belief exclusive to the Orient, where individuals, being subject to non-rationalistic epistemic frames, indulge in absurd fears that condition their lives.

Actually, all three stories go a step further in Orientalization and suggest that the vampire is just a ruse utilized by rogues or criminals to accomplish their goals at the expense of common ignorance and credulity.<sup>54</sup> In this manner, they imply that the East, and the modern Greek world as a part of it, has an alternative social functioning based not on politics, commerce, or honest intercourse, but on deception and fraud, the only resources to circumvent tyranny. The inevitable consequence arising from all these points is the debunking of the idea that modern Greece is the legitimate heir of the Hellenic spirit, epistemology, and civilization. Unexpectedly refuting some of Philhellenism's basic tenets, such a privilege is reserved here for the West, who must colonialistically administer that heritage in the Levant—a parallel development to Britain and France's political handling of the Eastern Question at the time. Nonetheless, the fact that the vampire is once again de-gothicized and thus

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Green, and Longmans; Paris: Delloy, [1837]), 242–69, <https://books.google.es/books?id=d39RAAAAcAAJ>; Bowring, "Vampires," in *Minor Morals for Young People: Illustrated by Tales and Travels, Particularly in the East*, pt. 3 (Edinburgh: William Tait; London: Simpkin, Marshall; Dublin: John Cumming, 1839), 106–18, <https://books.google.es/books?id=-l4UAAQAQAAJ>; and Paulding, "The Vroucolacas: A Tale," *Graham's Magazine*, June 1846, 271–77, <https://books.google.es/books?id=3ZzPAAAAMAAJ>.

54. In Anonymous, "Vampire Knight," a Greek impersonates a legendary undead who haunts the Cretan mountains to scare the Turks away and snatch his beloved from the claws of the fierce pasha of the island. At the end of Bowring, "Vampires," the narrator-character notes: "in nine cases out of ten, the belief in Ghosts, Genii, and Vampires is used in the East by clever rogues, as a means of carrying on and of concealing their fraudulent doings" (118). In Paulding, "Vroucolacas," the vampire's attacks are also described as a cunning scheme to secure the marriage of the two main characters, a Catholic girl, and a Greek boy.

disempowered in these stories attests to the ongoing need to keep the transhistorical, idealized Hellenism at the roots of Western civilization away from monstrosity or any form of disharmony.

*Regothicizing the Greek vampire.* Despite all the negotiations, though, the stories featuring Greek vampirism after 1820 did not make it into the canon of vampire fiction. This is largely unsurprising given that they were no longer vampire fiction. They had to evacuate (or at least reorganize) the genre in a desperate attempt to preserve the *vrykolakas* for European literature. But finally, at any rate, both they and the *vrykolakas* were obliterated. Not, however, without a last effort to resist erasure and reinstate the Greek vampire in Gothic fiction to its full extent.

That last effort, as far as I can determine, was “Vampire of Vourla.” The swan song of the *vrykolakas*, or of a Greek setting, in Western vampire fiction, “Vampire of Vourla” is a unique piece that marks an attempt to reconnect with the aborted tradition inaugurated by Polidori’s *Vampyre* and with the burning issues it raised. To achieve this end, it systematically reversed most of the disempowering, de-gothicizing, de-totalizing, re-folklorizing, and re-Orientalizing strategies used by its predecessors that we just surveyed.

Unlike such predecessors, “Vampire of Vourla” is set in the present and, far from encoding colonial tensions into a fairy tale-ish Orientalist aesthetic and plot, overtly thematizes them to delve into their complex possibilities. The reference to recent developments in the East is unmistakable from the very title. “Vourla” was a familiar toponym for most Britons during the 1830s and 1840s, who certainly associated it with imperial surveillance operations conducted in Anatolia. A cursory search of the British Newspaper Archive reveals that the term appears nearly twice as frequently in the press during those decades as it did throughout the rest of the nineteenth century.<sup>55</sup> This bay close to Smyrna in Asia Minor was a frequent venue for the British and French fleets that monitored the situation in the East<sup>56</sup> and on occasion engaged in open military campaigns, as in 1839, when Lord Palmerston sent a fleet to bombard the Syrian coast with the purpose of forcing Mehemet Ali to retreat to Egypt and preserving the Ottoman Empire from collapse. The warship stationed at Vourla Bay where Lieutenant Somers and Tom Gahan serve is consequently a clear allusion to British foreign policy in the context of the Eastern Question of the time. In this manner, the story shows full awareness of the imperialist position of the

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55. The search yields almost 3,000 results for the period 1830–49, while between 1850 and 1869, for example, there are only around three hundred. See <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/results/1800-01-01/1849-12-31?basicsearch=vourla&somesearch=vourla&retrievecountrycounts=false>.

56. As a sample of this kind of news we can mention the following untitled news item in *Newcastle Journal* (UK), July 19, 1834, 2, British Newspaper Archive: “The appearance of the British Fleet at Vourla, and expected arrival at the same place of a French squadron of equal force, have caused a great sensation at Constantinople and St. Petersburg; and both Russians and Turks are preparing to meet an attempt to force the Dardanelles and the passage from the Bosphorus to the Black Sea, where the Russian naval establishment and fleet at Sebastopol would probably become the objects of attack.”

British in front of Turks and Greeks and encourages a reading of the narrative as, among others, a comment upon present politics. What is more, it suggests that the contact—or the clash—between Somers and the female Greek vampire can be construed as a critique of, or a response to, colonial appropriation.<sup>57</sup>

This raises immediately the question of Philhellenism. For, in defiance of the post-1820 ban on Greece in vampire fiction, "Vampire of Vourla" does not shy away from linking Hellenic Greekness to vampirism. On the contrary, vampiric Greece is particularly Hellenic here. The story insists on the diachronic dimension of Greekness, implicitly associating it with the vampire's undeadness—and therefore, with the latter's inherent, rather disturbing challenge to historical time, or "chrononormativity"<sup>58</sup>—by describing the creature as an ancient Greek woman living (as it were) amid a contemporary Ottoman environment where Greeks and Turks coexist in reasonable balance. While the intradiegetic narrator frames the tale in a rather standardized present-day Orient as he claims, "knowing how jealous both Greeks as well as Turks are of their wives and daughters,"<sup>59</sup> Somers himself, in his description of the vampire's dwelling and appearance, focuses on highly revealing classical traits. She lives in an "ancient looking building,"<sup>60</sup> plays the lyre and sings to attract him siren-like to her habitation—awakening in him a kind of irresistible yearning for her presence strongly reminiscent of Hellenism's nostalgia for the lost Antiquity. Gahan's description of the girl dexterously amalgamates contemporary Levantine and ideally ancient features:

She appeared to be a Greek in all the ripe charms of womanhood. Her hair flowed down her shoulders in long graceful curls, crowned by a little scarlet cap, embroidered with gold, and further ornamented by a tassel of purple silk. Lustrous were her deep hazel eyes, and Mr. Somers declared that he felt as though they looked into his very soul. The beautiful stranger wore a vest of the darkest marone [maroon] colour, under which was a silken petticoat of scarlet and white stripe, gathered in very full at the waist, and descending in heavy folds of drapery until it met the finely turned ankles, clothed only in their own dazzling whiteness: and then her little feet and little yellow slippers!—Oh! my master seemed as if he would never have done talking about them,

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57. For a discussion on whether "colonialism" can be applied in this context, and how it should be qualified, see Gibson, *Dracula and the Eastern Question*, 12; Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania*, xxvi, 2–3; K. E. Fleming, "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan Historiography," *American Historical Review*, 105, no. 4 (October 2000): 1218–33; and Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 362. For the Greek case, see Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation*; Artemis Leontis, *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 68; Vangelis Calotychos, *Modern Greece: A Cultural Poetics* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 49–55; and Michael Herzfeld, "The Absent Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism," in "Enduring Enchantments," ed. Saurabh Dube, special issue, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 4 (Fall 2002): 899–926.

58. For this concept and its connection with the vampire, see Lindén and Ruin, "Vampire," 33, 50.

59. Anonymous, "Vampire of Vourla," 64.

60. Anonymous, 67.

for he had always a great fancy for a pretty foot.<sup>61</sup>

Heira, the vampire, is of an “exquisite beauty”<sup>62</sup> that entrances Somers and speaks “in the purest Ionic dialect.”<sup>63</sup> Her very Greek body transgresses the boundaries between past and present, life and death; it bridges the unbridgeable gap between ancients and moderns, the incommensurable difference among stages of conventional historical chronology. Redolent as it is of modern Greece’s stance in Philhellenic discourse, though, this corporeal amalgamation of historical periods, this allegorical embodiment of the long-desired *resurrection* of Classical Greece, has primarily monstrous undertones. Here, *resurrection* means vampirism, a savage attack on the living. Heira, the beautiful Greek, shows herself fully aware of the danger she represents: “Why are you here? You are in danger—you know not the danger that threatens you. Why do you tempt your fate?”<sup>64</sup> and, after Somers “poured forth the most ardent expressions of admiration”<sup>65</sup> and “all [he] advanced was well received,”<sup>66</sup> she draws a dagger from her girdle and bleeds his arm to drink his blood. Her justification (“‘It is an ancient custom of our race,’ she replied; ‘Let us mingle our blood; then shall we be as one life, living but for each other—sharing the same bliss—dying the same death’”<sup>67</sup>) does not hide the violence of the scene, which will recur daily for more than two weeks, eventually leading to Somers’ death.

In this manner, “Vampire of Vourla” (re-)monsterizes Hellenism and Greekness against the grain of nineteenth-century cultural discourse. Heira’s animalization at the end of the story, when she shapeshifts to suck the last drops of Somers’ blood, reinforces this scheme. What the tale seems to be suggesting is that contrary to the tenets of naive Hellenism, classical Greece can never be accessed in its imagined purity. Either in the past or in the present, along with harmony, beauty, and civilization, the Hellenic ideal will always drag monstrosity, barbarism, violence, and an oriental dimension with it; in short, the disturbing accretions of history. So, while the story de-Orientalizes Greekness in a sense, reversing and opposing the provincializing strategies deployed in the narratives we saw above, it also complicates normative versions of Greece as a Western cultural formation by bringing to the fore the unsettling, even uncanny aspects involved in its modern “recovery.”

From this point of view to the extent that it stages vampirism and vampiric predation as a consequence of contact (between cultures, temporalities, systems of power, and discourses), “Vampire of Vourla” re-totalizes the Greek vampire. It resumes the critical reflection on the diachronic, transhistorical nature of Greekness and its convoluted relationship with the West that was abandoned after Polidori’s

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61. Anonymous, 70.

62. Anonymous, 69.

63. Anonymous, 70.

64. Anonymous, 70.

65. Anonymous, 71.

66. Anonymous, 71.

67. Anonymous, 71.

*Vampyre*. The story can be read as a new, updated warning against the dangers of (Phil)Hellenism for both modern Greeks and Europeans. A representative of the widespread Graecomaniac Western upper class, Somers is not just attracted to the Greek woman who embodies the (un)dead Hellenic spirit, but becomes completely "entranced"<sup>68</sup> and "maddened"<sup>69</sup> by her beauty and her artistic performance, respectively, precisely the aspects on which aesthetic classicism had grounded its veneration for the Ancients since the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>70</sup> Having "lost all command over" himself,<sup>71</sup> he jeopardizes his future (his own history) for a brief encounter with the (un)dead past that eventually leads him to annihilation. This tension between desire and destruction, Eros and Thanatos, as Lindén and Ruin have pointed out, can be seen as characteristic of the complex, ambiguous historical articulation between modernity and Hellenic Antiquity. Like in much of the early vampire fiction featuring Greekness, here "the central concern . . . is the attraction to something that enables the living dead to attack the living, quite literally draining their life-blood."<sup>72</sup>

However, "Vampire of Vourla" introduces an additional component, partially identifiable in Polidori too, that further politicizes this issue and makes the story a still more pungent comment upon the present. Both tales recognize the colonial implications of Hellenism as regards the modern Greek populations of Southeastern Europe, even the Hellenic ideal itself. By claiming ancient Hellas as their own heritage, Western Philhellenes were attempting to actively appropriate a cultural and material legacy to, on the one hand, sustain their rights to global dominance and, on the other, put modern Greece under their colonial tutelage. And, while Polidori's novel encoded this insight in the transnational vampire's two-sided predation on both a modern Greek and a British woman, "Vampire of Vourla" astutely points to the outstanding similarities between Somers' rapacious sexual behavior (grounded on his virtually colonial stand) and Heira's vampiric violence. In fact, what unleashes, or at least enables, the vampire's onslaught in the first place is the British lieutenant's donjuanesque attitude towards local women (he "made himself very agreeable to the ladies, for he was a fine handsome young fellow,"<sup>73</sup> and his servant soon suspects that his mysterious nocturnal disappearances from the ship are due to him having "an intrigue on his hands"<sup>74</sup>) and, particularly, his ardent desire to fully possess the Greek lady at all costs—which runs parallel to Britain's desire to politically control the East. As David Roessel has noted, this scheme, that he has labelled "romance of Greek liberation," became a structural convention of Philhellenic literature since the early

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68. Anonymous, 69.

69. Anonymous, 69.

70. Anonymous, 71.

71. Anonymous, 71.

72. Lindén and Ruin, "Vampire," 49.

73. Anonymous, "Vampire of Vourla," 62.

74. Anonymous, 64.

nineteenth century.<sup>75</sup> He claims it “can be summed up as a white man saving a lapsed white woman from the Turk, a brown man. The white woman is a Greek or, like Byron’s Leila, stands for Greece, but the white man is often English, French, or American, depending on the nationality of the writer.”<sup>76</sup>

“Vampire of Vourla” explicitly complicates, even subverts, this allegorical pattern to undermine common Philhellenic assumptions and expose their dark side. Gender and power roles are consistently confused and inverted. While Somers initially believes himself to have begun the courting process and to stand in command of it, Heira soon reveals that it was she who attracted him to her (“did I not know your abiding-place, you would not now be here”<sup>77</sup>) and, more importantly, overcomes her expected passive, feminine role to adopt an active, typically masculine stance by objectifying the British lieutenant (“you swear to love no other,—to be all mine?”<sup>78</sup>) and then symbolically penetrating him with her dagger. The colonial relationship is also reversed thereby. Rather than being absorbed by the dominant culture and assimilated into its lineage, the Greek woman standing for Greece is the one who demands and controls in her own terms that Somers mingles his blood with hers, and eventually annihilates the British man by completely draining his life-blood—perhaps an inverted metaphor of economic exploitation. Therefore, while a pervasive trope of disempowerment and dematerialization<sup>79</sup> that reduced Greece to a de-realized form of historical revenance<sup>80</sup>—evacuated from the full presence of the present—spectralization, here in the shape of vampirism, furnishes the story with a means to re-empower the Greek female, and thus Greece itself, through an alternative, ghostly agency<sup>81</sup> that enables them to strike back at the colonial attack. Heira’s final assault on Somers within the British warship in animal form cleverly mirrors—though constrained to adopt a sneaky, monstrous outline to circumvent, while at the same time exploiting, the limitations of ghostly agency—the lieutenant’s (and the British Navy’s) intrusion into her land and her home. These complex strategies reveal the duplicitous nature of the tale, which oscillates between a

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75. Roessel, *Byron’s Shadow*, 61. For the colonialist use of Greek women in European literature during this time, see also Alexander Grammatikos, *British Romantic Literature and the Emerging Greek Nation* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 149–50.

76. Roessel, *Byron’s Shadow*, 61.

77. Anonymous, “Vampire of Vourla,” 72.

78. Anonymous, 71.

79. See for example Esther Peeren, *The Spectral Metaphor: Living Ghosts and the Agency of Invisibility* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 27–28, or Avery F. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, with a new intro. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008). For an interesting, though tentative reflection on the position of the vampire in the economy of the spectral that governs theory in the last decades, see Lindén and Ruin, “Vampire,” 34–35.

80. On this issue, see García Marín, “Pitfalls of Resurrection,” 371–431.

81. I follow the definition of “ghostly agency” outlined in Peeren, *Spectral Metaphor*, 37: “Action can be taken in the realm of the spectral, but it has to be taken from within its logic as a strategic exploitation of the characteristics of spectrality itself: ghost against ghost.”



denunciation of the colonialist violence underlying (Phil)Hellenism, a warning against the ongoing dangers of Greekness and undead history, and a pervading anxiety over reverse colonization.<sup>82</sup>

The effort of the story to re-empower Greece and the Greek woman, manifest in the plot, is also staged in a variety of ways at the level of genre and narrative structure. It even extends to the Greek vampire itself. As an attempt to re-totalize the creature, "Vampire of Vourla" de-folklorizes the belief and re-empowers the *vrykolakas* by placing it back in a Gothic frame. Vampirism is no longer, unlike in previous narratives, a risible superstition defining debauched and backward peoples. The monster is real and kills, even if the conventions of the fantastic impose a certain hesitation about the ultimate truth of the events. This is made clear by the accumulation of mostly unreliable narrative layers to mediate the story, which is conveyed by the author of the log mentioned in the subtitle having heard it from the drunkard Tom Gahan, who in turn overheard it from Somers himself while eavesdropping on the latter's conversation with a friend. Such accumulation, however, contributes significantly to the de-folklorization and de-exoticization of Greek vampirism because it replaces the earlier fictions' unified omniscient narrator, which served as an incarnation of an all-encompassing Western consciousness in control of the narrative and dictated a unique patronizing, mocking interpretation of the events. That kind of voice, projecting itself as an avatar of universal subjectivity, reappropriated the deterritorialized Hellenic spirit by embodying an array of rationalistic discourses (science, civilization, ethics, or truthfulness) purportedly informed by Ancient Greek values and, in that capacity, put the vampire recurrently to rest. In Tennent's and Bowring's texts, the undead were finally annihilated through conventional modes of exorcism; in "Vampire Knight" and Paulding's story, their very emergence was thwarted by the scoffing approach of the narrator. In all these cases, though, the narrative frame secured its disempowerment and disavowal in the name of social stability, scientific plausibility, or morality. The narrator was thus able to simultaneously display the political and discursive superiority of the West—grounded on its idealized Hellenism—and the inexhaustible otherness of the vampire—which often entailed that of modern Greece too.

Heira, by contrast, like Polidori's Lord Ruthven, manages to elude the shattering hand of science or morality. Not even Dracula or Carmilla could do that. Unlike them, she triumphs not only over her victim himself, of whom she takes possession for the whole of eternity, but also over Western medicine, military expertise, and rationalism, which can never contain her. Despite all their attempts, the ship's doctor and Somers' comrades are incapable of detecting what is wrong with him. The physician proves several treatments that fail miserably and, on one occasion, even bleeds him, significantly bolstering and reproducing the vampire's destructive

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82. As Stephen D. Arata famously proposed for *Dracula* in "The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization," *Victorian Studies* 33, no. 4 (Summer 1990): 621–45.

behavior—in other words, helping her assault on the English man succeed. None of these discourses can describe, let alone find the remedy for, the vampiric attack. There is no Van Helsing in “Vampire of Vourla.” The monster remains invisible to (Western) language, temporality, and consciousness, and exploits such invisibility to infiltrate the system—for which the warship stands as a metaphor—and accomplish her evil task to the end. This runs structurally parallel to the lack of a totalizing, authoritative narrative voice in control of the story. The multi-perspectival approach to events through de-centralized, usually untrustworthy narrators disempowers (Hellenic-informed) Western discursivity, enabling an alternative—and to some extent anti-colonial—“ghostly agency” that allows the vampire to confront the attempt at colonial or historical appropriation in its own vernacular terms, avoiding enclosure or annihilation by the external narrative voice.<sup>83</sup> In this sense, following Stathis Gourgouris’ view of Philhellenism as inherently “anti-Hellenic,”<sup>84</sup> the story, like Polidori’s *Vampyre*, can be considered utterly “anti-Philhellenic” as it opposes the drive to symbolically colonize Greekness, striving instead to preserve the singularities of native discursivity—even though, to a certain point, it simultaneously warns about the destructive potential of the Orient and of undead history.<sup>85</sup> Genre plays as well a fundamental role in this anti-colonial gesture, since, like Tabish Khair has noted, “Gothic literature has allowed a greater space for the narratives of [the] Others in England than most of the mainstream branches of literature,”<sup>86</sup> usually preserving—by means of a complicated dialectic of repulsion and attraction—the irreducible difference of such Others, which persistently resist—or are intrinsically incapable of—being assimilated by the Self. Re-gothicizing the *vrykolakas* means thus re-empowering the monster and modern Greek culture. Consequently, at the conclusion of this tale, the Greek vampire, this unsettling force of discursive and historical Otherness, escapes unpunished and will presumably continue to lurk in the interstices of reason and empire in search of new victims to feed on.

Such an effort to preserve the independence and strength of the *vrykolakas*, however, succeeded just on the symbolic plane. “Vampire of Vourla”’s powerful gesture in the structural realm had no impact whatsoever in what we call literary politics; its extremely clever and self-aware move was clearly insufficient to save the

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83. From this perspective, with its open ending, “Vampire of Vourla” might be promoting an “antitotalizing epistemology,” as ghost stories from this period do according to Simon Hay, *A History of the Modern British Ghost Story* (Basingstoke: Palgrave: Macmillan, 2011), 89.

84. Gourgouris, *Dream Nation*, 139–40.

85. The latter point also implies a deep anti-(Phil)hellenic gesture, since it challenges Hellenism’s basic assumption that recovering the dead classical past and engaging on it will bring a regeneration of the present which in its turn will ensure a bright and self-sufficient historical future. In “Vampire of Vourla,” too close (and too enthusiastic) an engagement with such past entails dispossession and death, thus an obliteration of the future, that is, of the new, modern concept of lineal history itself.

86. Khair, *The Gothic, Postcolonialism and Otherness: Ghosts from Elsewhere* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 8.

creature for European literature, gothic or not. Leaving aside the fact that it appeared in a second-rate publication and became scarcely known to a wider readership, it is reasonable to affirm that the various operations this story performed with the purpose of conserving or reanimating the Greek undead in vampire fiction worked precisely (or would have worked, had it been an editorial success) to set in motion the machinery of censorship that finally banned the monster from European narrative. The discourse of idealistic Hellenism triumphed—at the outset of the colonial age, Western identity relied too much on its retrospective fantasy—and the Greek vampire was definitively lost from the global imagination. The tale itself, despite its obvious quality, remarkable technical skill, and generic self-consciousness, did not make it into the canon and sank into utter oblivion for almost one hundred and eighty years. As far as I know, no trace of it remains in any anthologies or vampire scholarship. Nonetheless, some of its most salient traits and motifs seem to strikingly prefigure *Dracula*, the emblematic 1897 novel where vampire fiction *crystallized* in a sense and might even suggest—while I admit this is a highly improbable hypothesis—that Bram Stoker had certain knowledge of it. I move on now to look a bit closer at those traits and motifs.

### Pre-*Dracula* motifs

The very title of this section attests to a questionable tendency among vampire fiction scholars that has been rather naturalized by now: to construe the genre in the nineteenth century as a linear path inexorably leading towards *Dracula*. Primarily the hinge on which the image (and the fame) of the modern fictional vampire turns, Bram Stoker's 1897 novel undoubtedly exercises on readers, researchers, and aficionados a magnetic attraction that drives us—unconsciously or not—to think of other samples of this literature exclusively in connection with it. Taking *Dracula*'s existence for granted, such a retrospective reading often interrogates previous nineteenth-century stories and novels as to how much they anticipate or lay the ground for Stoker's milestone. Thus, Polidori's *Vampyre*, for example, is usually viewed as the first and most important *step* towards the *final* crystallization—note the word choice—of the aristocratic pattern of the undead in *Dracula*.

By imposing a grand narrative on the multifarious corpus of the genre, this teleological scheme mirrors the work of what might be termed "canonic violence." It undeniably overshadows many noteworthy vampire fictions by classifying them as "minor" pieces, obscures internal genre trends and negotiations which came to a dead end (such as the handling of the Greek vampire we saw above) and wipes out the variety of cultural contexts where the narratives emerged and operated in the first place in order to incorporate them into a centralized, purportedly universal thread that roughly corresponds to Anglo-American conditions of production. However, with the help of Mieke Bal's notion of "preposterous reading," a method that "puts what came chronologically first ('pre-') as an aftereffect behind ('post-') its

later recycling,”<sup>87</sup> trying to analyze some aspects of “Vampire of Vourla” in the light of *Dracula* can prove particularly prolific here. Not only because this hermeneutic strategy, by breaking the logic of linear time (in other words, of “chrononormativity”<sup>88</sup>), evokes the “queer temporality” essential to the vampire, but also because elucidating whether Stoker was the real creator of various basic traits in the modern vampire myth may help challenge some of the hierarchical assumptions buttressing the hegemonic historicity that dominates the current understanding of the genre. Depriving *Dracula* of the claim to originality in the invention of a great portion of the contemporary vampire prototype should go some way towards opening up this literature to plural genealogies and decentering its historical unfolding. “First times” in vampire fiction, a relatively young genre whose rise and development can be quite thoroughly surveyed from the vantage point of the present, are particularly significant, and many of them have not yet been pinpointed—or, better, have been too hastily attributed to *Dracula*.

The discovery of “Vampire of Vourla” obliges us to move back the date of several of those “first times” by more than fifty years. At the very least, it uncovers some of the allegedly original features of *Dracula* in an earlier work, demonstrating the existence of a far more decentralized tradition informing Stoker’s endeavor. Of course, I do not mean to imply that such a previous tradition worked on Stoker in terms of direct literary influence or centripetal genealogy. *Dracula* had the merit of skillfully combining for the first time disparate pre-existing features—besides adding a few fresh ones—into a single work and creature, making them resonate with contemporary concerns. This granted the character a long-lasting presence in global popular culture, especially thanks to the timely appearance of cinema. Many of those individual features, however, had entered vampire fiction some decades earlier and should unsettle our larger view of the genre as primarily organized around the authoritative presence of *Dracula* or around Stoker’s inspired literary creativity. Take for example the vampire’s connection to Vlad Țepeș, largely believed to have been introduced in this novel. A cursory search into previous non-English vampire literature shows that it had already sprung up in Franz Seraph Chrismar’s “Der Vampyr,” a short German story published in 1835.<sup>89</sup> *Dracula*’s overwhelming success and retrospective canonic violence—not to mention the cultural prevalence of English literature in the global imagination—have, though, totally erased the former occurrence of the motif.

Rather than as a single line of chronologically ordered, genealogical influences,

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87. Bal, *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 7. I would like to thank Prof. Maria Boletsi, University of Amsterdam, for bringing this concept to my attention.

88. See note 58 above.

89. Chrismar, “Der Vampyr” [The vampyre], *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, December 12, 1835, 1197–1200; December 15, 1835, 1205–1208, <https://books.google.es/books?id=PvThZXrXxiEC>. The story was translated into English as *Vlad the Devil: or, The Vampire*, trans., and intro. Christian Opitz (self-pub., CreateSpace, 2017).

therefore, the first and a half centuries of vampire fiction should be viewed as a kind of collaborative archive, a cumulative series of motifs and traits discontinuously discarded,<sup>90</sup> resumed, recycled, recast, and recombined in different arrangements, usually without a stable, unique recognizable origin. By compelling us to reevaluate some previously accepted chronologies of the literary vampire, the unearthing of "Vampire of Vourla" reinforces this perception of the genre as an intricate web of de-centered genealogies. As a result, despite its oblivion, the story emerges as an ideal candidate to become a new landmark of vampire fiction.

*The vampire's abode.* The first element to strike us as a sort of preposterous reminiscence of *Dracula* is the mysterious, secluded abode of the vampire. While not a castle as such, the "ancient looking building" that Heira inhabits lies apart from social time and space. A heterotopic and heterochronic device, Somers can never find it during the day, or pinpoint its surroundings; he even must be guided to and from it for his visits. The place seems to share the vampire's uncanniness and challenge of "chrononormativity." Exactly like the monster, it belongs in a different era and consequently puts the present "out of joint." Like her, moreover, even like Greekness itself—and certainly like *Dracula's* castle fifty years later—the house, located in the outer margins of civilization, embodies the threat of (un)dead history, especially of Ancient/Balkan/Ottoman history, which stubbornly resists to die and continues to haunt Western modernity and progressive historicity through its temporal (and civilizational) Otherness.<sup>91</sup> As such, it is totally identified with the vampire, an essential part of her nature that acts to a large extent as she does, displaying a mixture of attraction, mystery and menace. Somers describes the place in aesthetically admiring terms, close in spirit to those he employs to present Heira: "The room I now arrived at was laid with Persian carpeting of the richest colours; silken hangings concealed the walls, and on pedestals of bronze, silver lamps were burning the most fragrant oils, dispensing at once light and perfume all around."<sup>92</sup> There is no doubt that the house, as well as the maid, exerts an irresistible fascination on him. In fact, he is lured there by the combined action of both the vampire and the building, which act to a certain point as one being. The mansion collaborates in his entrapment, not only by appearing out of the blue to provide refuge in the sudden storm, but also by swinging back the door to let him in without anybody's visible intervention. It is within this haunting, rather than haunted, house—a supplementary figure of Greekness's double-edged agency—that the first and most of the subsequent vampiric attacks occur.

*The vampire's servants.* Like in *Dracula*, the vampire "seemed to have full command of the habitation: an elegant repast always awaited his arrival, though no

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90. Think, for instance, of one of Polidori's vampire's most recognizable characteristics, inseparable from the creature in the 1820s, but later lost forever: the requirement that the monster's corpse be exposed to the moon's rays to ensure its resurrection.

91. On this subject, see Countouriotis, "Dracula," 143–59; and Tomislav Longinović, *Vampires Like Us: Writing Down "the serbs"* (Belgrade: Belgrade Circle, 2005).

92. Anonymous, "Vampire of Vourla," 69.

attendants were to be seen.”<sup>93</sup> Nonetheless, Heira *does* have servants: two rowers piloting a caique with a black “awning spread in the stern-sheets”<sup>94</sup> are dispatched every night to bring Somers from the warship to the house, then return him to the vessel in the morning. Probably sharing Heira’s and the house’s heterotopic and heterochronic qualities, they operate as the only channel connecting normative time and geography with the spectral chronotope of the vampire. Their boat, indeed, has magic powers concerning time and space: it is “an extremely fleet one, for it always seems to me that I am a very short space of time beneath its sombre awning, ere we run in-shore, and up a creek which brings me within a hundred yards of my destination”;<sup>95</sup> a creek he can never discover during daytime, even though he has “coasted the whole of the southern side of the Gulf.”<sup>96</sup> While they “appeared to be Greeks,”<sup>97</sup> these boatmen are conveniently enigmatic and silent to suggest a supernatural provenance. Strikingly, at this point “Vampire of Vourla” evokes not Stoker’s *Dracula* itself, where the Count had no other servants than probably Renfield, whom he controlled from the distance, but cinematic adaptations (starting from F. W. Murnau’s 1922 *Nosferatu*) where a black-swathed figure in a black coach drives the vampire’s visitors to his castle. In those films, it is usually implied that the mysterious character is Dracula himself in disguise, but the idea of an uncanny servant leading the victims into a ghostly heterotopic and heterochronic space remains the same. This astounding coincidence illustrates and underpins my previous argument that vampire fiction constitutes (or relies on) a non-genealogic collaborative archive that enables, or even demands, a preposterous reading.

*Vampire visitations.* As far as I know, “Vampire of Vourla” is the first Western European fiction featuring a non-Western vampire where the victim voluntarily visits the monster in its own abode, meaning not just its (vampiric) residence but also the (atavistic) territory it comes from. Most previous narratives presented the vampire intruding into the victim’s country as an alien threat. Either a transnational, diasporic entity (Polidori’s *Vampyre*), or an Oriental being seeking revenge (Lamotte-Langon’s *La vampire*), the creature left its home to actively hunt for its prey. Later major works, such as Le Fanu’s *Carmilla* (1871–72), still employed this plot device—the vampire always comes to you, enters your home, ultimately your body. Only in those cases where the undead had been internalized and originally came from the same (Western) society as its victim (Varney, Raupach’s “Laßt die Todten ruhen”) did it strike *from* or *at home*. Here, in contrast, Heira, like Dracula half a century later, lures her victim into her dwelling from a foreign land (“Did I not know you—did I not know your abiding-place, you would not now be here”<sup>98</sup>). In a sense, I would even dare say that the story—unlike *Dracula* on this—makes the point that it

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93. Anonymous, 74.

94. Anonymous, 64.

95. Anonymous, 73.

96. Anonymous, 74.

97. Anonymous, 73.

98. Anonymous, 72.

is Somers himself who, in his capacity as a British army officer, invades her territory in the first place. Her brutal attack could thus be construed as a response to a previous, original colonial aggression, therefore inverting the trope of intrusion and problematizing the boundaries of monstrosity.

For, certainly, one of Heira's most prominent distinctive features is her ability to return the visit; to *strike back*. Therein lies the empowering effect of vampirism as "ghostly agency." Her protean adaptability allows her—once more like Dracula—to pursue her victim beyond the safe space of her home to satisfy her nasty compulsion. As we discover she can sneak in everywhere and still be lethal, she becomes an even more disturbing threat. She could come into our home(land) for us, she could infiltrate into our very room. No cultural or natural boundaries seem able to stop her. To do this, though, Heira needs to transform into a different form of life—and that form is what makes "Vampire of Vourla" a milestone of vampire fiction and a true game changer of the genre.

*Vampire-to-bat transformation.* "Vampire of Vourla," appears to be the first narrative to feature a vampire-to-bat transformation—more than fifty years before *Dracula* and forty years before the text that was hitherto considered to have introduced this trait.

The final part of the story has Somers feeling too weak to get out of bed. He has a high fever. The doctor in the ship bleeds him, just to find out he has recently been bled. As this proves of no help, the lieutenant is put into a hot bath and then put into bed under Tom Gahan's supervision. There, he becomes delirious, talking about "a beautiful Syren bringing him to his death,"<sup>99</sup> then sinks "into a sort of doze."<sup>100</sup> Gahan, also having fallen asleep after drinking some grog—a resource of the story to make his testimony unreliable and encourage fantastic hesitation—describes what happened next:

I dare say, it must have been close upon the end of the first watch,—as near midnight as well could be—that I was awoke by as sort of flapping and flapping, just as if some one was fanning with a large fan, as they do in the East Indies. I could hardly open my eyes at first, I was so drowsy. There was a port in the screen-berth, and the sash was thrown back on the gun, for the weather was very hot, and a draught of wind had flared the sperm candle on the table down to a mere snuff; thus when I *did* look about me, I could not for a moment discover all that was going on, but never shall I forget what I at last made out. My master was lying motionless in the cot, his eyes wide open—staring at the hideous form of a large bat, nearly as large as some I have seen in the island of Java—there they call them *Vampires*—and oh! what a head it had! I could almost fancy that I saw human, or rather a devil's features, in those small bright eyes, and quickly working jaws, as these last, close-pressed my master's neck, were drawing, drawing, drawing, the life-blood from his sinking frame, while the dark leathern wings

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99. Anonymous, 76. Note the Ancient Hellenic reminiscences of "Syren," most likely employed to reinforce the idea that the story is chiefly about diachronic Greekness and its reception by the West.

100. Anonymous, 76.

fanned as the creature sucked.<sup>101</sup>

After that, of course, Somers dies and Gahan is accused and arrested for drunkenness, not telling anyone about the bat. While encouraging hesitation about this episode, though, the tale eventually manages to confirm the accuracy of the servant's testimony and to suggest that the bat is indeed Heira herself, who, desperate to continue sucking Somers' blood but unable to do so at home, has visited her victim in his room to complete her unfulfilled task. It does so through ingenious narrative strategies. As regards the former, Gahan asks the carpenter's mate "if he didn't see something like a bite in my master's neck, when he and the carpenter measured the corpse for its coffin,"<sup>102</sup> to which the latter "declared that he had taken particular notice of a sort of red mark nearly under the right ear."<sup>103</sup> As for the latter, a member of the crew who was listening to the story asks Gahan "what had that ere young homan [sic] to do with that ere big Bat, what you calls a *Wampire*?"<sup>104</sup>

Kevin Dodd has examined the connections between the vampire and the bat in and before *Dracula*. His detailed analysis of the sources led him to the conclusion that the first explicit association of these two beings in fiction occurred in the seventh chapter of Karl May's *In den Schluchten des Balkan* (In the gorges of the Balkans) (1885–86), a German folklore-inflected narrative set in Bulgaria.<sup>105</sup> The issue here is that, as in other ethnologic or disempowering vampire stories—like the ones we discussed above—the claimed shapeshifting of the vampire is ultimately exposed as a hoax carried out by a living person. However, since it involves transformation and appears in a fictional story, this reference undoubtedly marks an occurrence of the trope before *Dracula*. Dodd correctly dismisses other authors' claims about earlier confluences of vampires and bats in literature<sup>106</sup> by meticulously showing how they either do not involve vampires as monsters (just the vampire bat), or simply juxtapose the animal and the creature to indicate the latter's dark, nocturnal nature.<sup>107</sup>

Nevertheless, as Dodd himself points out (and as the cultural metaphors he examines let us easily infer), vampires and bats had indeed been closely related in the European imagination during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, not to mention that bats had served as an allegory of evil or the demon since at least the late Middle Ages. It comes as no surprise, then, that writers would incorporate into their fictions a simile which was anyway at hand within what I have called the "collaborative archive" of vampire traits—a repository simultaneously informed by

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101. Anonymous, 77.

102. Anonymous, 78.

103. Anonymous, 78.

104. Anonymous, 78.

105. Dodd, "'Blood Suckers Most Cruel': The Vampire and the Bat in and Before *Dracula*," *Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts* 6, no. 2 (April 2019): 123–24, <https://www.athensjournals.gr/humanities/2019-6-2-1-Dodd.pdf>.

106. Dodd, 115–16.

107. Dodd, 115–24.



folklore, iconography, metaphorical uses, and earlier fiction.

Such a simile, though, needed some literary elaboration, and that is what Stoker did to cast the modern image of the fictional vampire as a contemporary myth, according to Dodd. He claims that by the second half of the nineteenth century, the term "vampire" was increasingly being restricted to refer to a particular species of blood-sucking bat—one of the metaphorical uses I just mentioned, supplied here by science. In his opinion, the monster was at that point "in the process of being naturalized"<sup>108</sup> in culture, becoming just "a psychic vampire mesmerizing, a medical one transfusing, a scientist electrically magnetizing, a *femme fatale* or *homme fatal* seducing; a killer murdering; a necrophile desecrating, etc."<sup>109</sup> while the "unreconstructed monster [became] largely the property of folklorists, early psychologists, and love poets."<sup>110</sup> Meanwhile, in literature it lived "at the margins,"<sup>111</sup> and the few masterpieces still arising, such as Le Fanu's *Carmilla*, "were overlooked at the time of their publication."<sup>112</sup> In this context, "Dracula should have joined them at the fringes, but instead it broke out and has become one of the best selling novels to this day."<sup>113</sup> As such, Stoker's innovative association of the vampire and the bat, unlike the previous cases, which were "rather anemic,"<sup>114</sup> is not "the climax of a mainstream movement in its direction,"<sup>115</sup> but a sort of authorial radical shift that "played a key role in reasserting the primacy of the monster over the bat that typified the first half of the century."<sup>116</sup>

The recovery of "Vampire of Vourla" largely challenges this contention. Not only does it anticipate by more than forty years the first occurrence of the vampire-to-bat transformation in fiction; it also proves that the association already existed in literature, and even if Stoker did not know this tale, as is almost certain, he was just drawing from a diffuse cumulative collection of traits, tropes, and motifs. *Dracula's* resounding success was unquestionably instrumental in the global popularization of both the vampire as a Gothic archetype and the bat as the monster's most common shapeshifting form, but Stoker did not create the association—not even in its most "staggering" version, as Dodd has it.<sup>117</sup> The depiction of this transformation in "Vampire of Vourla" is exactly as "staggering" as *Dracula's*: Heira, just like her Transylvanian counterpart, turns into a menacing bat in order "to spy, to sedate, to hypnotize, to prey upon, to escape—as one weapon in an arsenal to be wielded by a relentless, foreign, imperial monster."<sup>118</sup> This does not mean that there was a

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108. Dodd, 125.

109. Dodd, 125.

110. Dodd, 125.

111. Dodd, 125.

112. Dodd, 125.

113. Dodd, 125.

114. Dodd, 125.

115. Dodd, 125.

116. Dodd, 125.

117. Dodd, 125.

118. Dodd, 125.

“mainstream movement in its direction”<sup>119</sup> which *Dracula* just took to its climax. Yet, Stoker’s novel resumed and relaunched a preexisting trope that had already been tested in full-fledged Gothic fiction.

Supernatural vampires, by the way, were not as declining in literature at this point as Dodd implies. Furthermore, I think it is impossible to draw such a sharp distinction as he does between the term’s zoological, metaphorical, and literary uses before the last third of the nineteenth century. To begin with, Linneus in 1758 named *vampyrus* the large mythic blood-sucking bat that had been haunting the minds of Europeans since Spain’s conquest of America in the sixteenth century<sup>120</sup> *precisely after* the monster, which had first entered Western consciousness in 1732 due to the well-known Serbian cases reported by Austrian officers. Thus, the animal became not only inextricably linked with the Slavic creature, but also *discursively dependent* on it, implying that the undead always maintained symbolic primacy within this metaphor. I would even argue that it was the first metaphorical uses of vampiric blood-sucking as social, political, or economic parasitism<sup>121</sup> that informed its application to the bat, which, apart from horrid, was seen as chiefly parasitical. From this point of view, the vampire bat was never—could never be—completely independent from the monster, and any mention of the former would necessarily arouse the latter in the mind of the audience. So, the iconographic representations of bats in vampire stories illustrations or political cartoons that Dodd dismisses as referring *exclusively* to the animal<sup>122</sup> are always mobilizing a thick weave of signifiers which also primarily involve the monster and its polysemous associations. Besides, we must not forget that, as Dodd himself makes a main argument of in his paper, the large vampire bat never existed. Strictly speaking, therefore, it was as legendary as the undead, a figure pertaining to literature or myth rather than science. As such, it was prone to Gothic or metaphorical treatments on its own account.

Undoubtedly, the author of “Vampire of Vourla,” like Stoker did five decades later, drew on this tradition of the large mythical vampire bat that had been widespread in Europe since the sixteenth century. As Dodd explains, “in the 1840s the descriptions of the bat began to be tempered by Darwin’s direct observation of the

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119. Dodd, 125.

120. Dodd, 109–15.

121. The first known political and economic metaphor of this kind occurred in Nicholas Amhurst, attrib. [Caleb D’anvers, pseud.], untitled article, *Craftsman*, May 20, 1732, 123–29, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015016439054>. [Sometimes called “Political Vampyres”—see, for instance, Ed Cameron, *The Psychopathology of the Gothic Romance: Perversion, Neuroses and Psychosis in Early Works of the Genre* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 13, [https://books.google.com.au/books?id=h\\_i3HONQWzYC](https://books.google.com.au/books?id=h_i3HONQWzYC)—but actually the title of a short piece *about* the article in *Gentleman’s Magazine* (London), May 1732, 76–77.—Ed.]

122. Especially the cover of Varney’s 1853 edition in book form, the 1888 illustration appeared in *Punch* with the caption “The Irish Vampire,” and the sketch at the beginning of Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s 1896 “Good Lady Ducayne.” See Dodd, “Blood Suckers Most Cruel,” 118–21.

*Desmodus rotundus*,<sup>123</sup> which by the end of the century finally managed to substitute the legendary large one with the proper vampire microbat, the only true blood-sucking kind. "In popular culture", however, "it was strictly the legendary one that was used"<sup>124</sup> until the beginnings of the twentieth century. So, Stoker "had readily available to him a vampire that was very large, had predatorial instincts, and sucked blood to such a degree that it could take a life. It used its wings to sedate hypnotically, both while hovering and while feeding. Stoker did not invent it, by making a human-like vampire monster in a transformed state, but utilized a bat that already existed, albeit in people's imagination, and affixed it to the monster."<sup>125</sup>

If this was still the scenario in the 1890s, we can readily imagine that a writer in the 1840s seeking to craft a daunting image of the vampire would inexorably turn to the large mythical bat. The description of the animal attacking Somers in "Vampire of Vourla" totally fits in with the legendary *topoi* attached to the large bat. It has enormous wings (according to Linnaeus, the Malayan flying fox he labelled *vampyrus* had a wingspan of nearly five feet<sup>126</sup>) which it flaps to lull the sleeper.<sup>127</sup> Gahan's allusion to "a sort of flapping and flapping, just as if someone was fanning with a large fan," and the Southeastern Asia reference amplified in the next sentence ("as they do in the East Indies"), followed by his description of "a large bat, nearly as large as some I have seen in the island of Java—there they call them *Vampires*," proves that scientific literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the main source for that aspect of the story.

The way it draws the blood from Somers also coincides with commonplace descriptions at the time, even in details like the creature fanning its wings while biting its victim to ensure they do not wake up. Take the following example from Alfred Russel Wallace's almost contemporaneous *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (1853): "My brother was frequently bitten by them, and his opinion was, that the bat applied one of its long canine teeth to the part, and then flew round and round on that as a center, till the tooth, acting as an awl, bored a small hole; the wings of the bat serving, at the same time, to fan the patient into a deeper slumber."<sup>128</sup>

Interestingly, however, "Vampire of Vourla" departs from these descriptions in the part of the body where the fangs are applied. For, while Wallace explains that "they generally attack the tip of the toe, or sometimes any other part of the body that may be exposed. I have myself been twice bitten, once on the toe, and the other time

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123. Dodd, 114.

124. Dodd, 114.

125. Dodd, 115.

126. Dodd, 112–13.

127. Dodd, 113.

128. Wallace, *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro, with an Account of the Native Tribes, and Observations on the Climate, Geology, and Natural History of the Amazon Valley* (London: Reeve, 1853), 449–50, [https://books.google.es/books?id=\\_HICAAACAAJ](https://books.google.es/books?id=_HICAAACAAJ); alluded to in Dodd, "Blood Suckers Most Cruel," 114.

on the tip of the nose,”<sup>129</sup> Heira, in bat form, chooses instead the neck. This can be seen as an authorial intervention attempting, fifty years before *Dracula*, to conflate the scientific myth of the large vampire bat with the legend of the undead to give the latter more depth and richness. For the biting in the neck, later confirmed by the carpenter’s mate Gahan cross-checks with (“he had taken particular notice of a sort of red mark nearly under the right ear”), resonates rather—even uncannily coincides—with the foundational descriptions of vampiric attacks in eighteenth-century Austrian reports from Serbia than with scientific literature.<sup>130</sup> That means that, by 1845, a conscious effort to build a modern archetype of the vampire in mass culture through a meticulous assemblage of discourses and references was already largely at work.

## Conclusion

Dodd’s article states that “[s]tudy of the vampire as an artifact of popular, and even of high culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is, in several ways, arrested.”<sup>131</sup> I agree with him to a large extent. Research has long focused now on the same array of texts, the same motifs, the same timelines, and genealogical explanations. The discovery of “Vampire of Vourla,” though, proves that there is still a lot to be done. Forgotten—or unacknowledged—pieces may yet be waiting. Today, digital collections offer resources that earlier scholars did not have. It is important to take advantage of them since, as this case demonstrates, endeavors in that direction usually pay off.

However, “discovering” is not enough. We need to know how to read this information to reassess our long-standing assumptions about the genre. From that point of view, “Vampire of Vourla” not only resurfaces now as an unknown milestone of vampire fiction entitled to claim a place in the canon. It is, above all, a sort of missing link that forces us to revise some of the unquestioned dogmas of traditional vampire studies regarding chronologies, cultural dynamics, generic transformations, and authorial intervention.

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129. Wallace, 449.

130. The following notation was made about an alleged vampire victim in *Visum et repertum*, the 1732 report from Medveda composed by Austrian military physician Johann Flückinger: “Stanoicka eines Heydukh Weib, 20 Jahr alt, ist in 3 tägiger Krankheit gestorben, und vor 18 Täg begraben worden; bey der Secierung habe ich gefunden, daß sie in dem Angesicht ganz roht, und lebhafter Farb ware, und wie oben gemeldet, sie von des Heydukhs Sohn Nahmens Miloe sey umb Mitternacht umb den Hals gewürgt worden; sich auch augenscheinlich gezeiget, daß sie rechter Seithen unter dem Ohr einen blauen mit Blueth unterloffenen Fleck eines Fingers lang gehabt.” Klaus Hamberger, *Mortuus non mordet: Kommentierte Dokumente zum Vampirismus 1689–1791* [*Mortuus non mordet: Annotated documents on vampirism 1689–1791*] (Vienna: Turia & Kant, 1992), 53 (my italics) (In the dissection I found that her face was quite red and of a vivid color, and, as I mentioned above, she had been throttled, at midnight, by Milloe, the son of the haiduk, and on the right part under her ear, a finger-long bloodshot blue mark was clearly visible.)

131. Dodd, “Blood Suckers Most Cruel,” 107.

On the one hand, it helps unveil the workings of the discursive operation that, from the 1820s onwards, relentlessly sought to cleanse vampire fiction from any trace of Greekness. The very existence of this story exposes some of the strategies this sweeping cultural gesture followed, while pointing out its shortcomings and proving how, as late as 1845, attempts were still made against all odds to exploit that path for fictional vampirism. Additionally, the fact that its own subsequent fortune embodies the erasure undergone by the Greek vampire itself enables us to see canonic violence and resistance at work, leading us consequently to denaturalize the history of the genre by focusing on voids and discontinuities rather than on presumed—usually retrospectively constructed—continuities. "Vampire of Vourla" as an extremely valuable and significant but forgotten piece implies that similar dead ends may still be awaiting disclosure and proper interpretation to let us pluralize our conventional understanding of vampire literature; a much-required move, in my opinion. On the other hand, by compelling us to bring forward by more than fifty years some of the "first times" of the genre, this tale challenges assumed hierarchies, encourages preposterous readings, debunks traditional notions of literary influence, and unsettles the almost uncontested centrality of Bram Stoker's *Dracula*.

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## Notes

### The Mollusca Press *Dracula*

Mollusca Press is an obscure publishing house that has published an edition of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) in at least fifty languages<sup>1</sup> (table 1). A search of the Internet offers no information on Mollusca Press despite the many titles it has listed on Amazon for sale.<sup>2</sup>

Copies of *Dracula* (and the selection of additional titles it has published) have been issued without any mention of the publisher, the date and place of publication, and any reference to the name of a translator. The individual pages of the text are unnumbered. The anonymous nature of the press leads to speculation that the work is the product of running the English text of *Dracula* through Google Translate or a similar impersonal translation program and simply publishing the result.

One reviewer of the Chinese edition noted: "This Chinese version of *Dracula* is a bad joke which I only reached page 15 of before giving up and ordering a different edition. It seems to have been written by using a combination of guesswork and Google Translate, resulting in a barely intelligible work full of nonsense phrases, erroneous translations, random single word sentences and words simply replaced by dashes with no attempt to translate or transliterate."<sup>3</sup> Examples provided by the

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Revised from J. Gordon Melton, email message to Anthony Hogg, September 23, 2023.

1. As a baseline, we used the English language Amazon sites: Amazon.com.au (Australia), Amazon.ca (Canada), Amazon.com.sg (Singapore), Amazon.co.uk (UK / Ireland) and Amazon.com (US). It also has dedicated country-specific websites for Austria, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Egypt, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, and United Arab Emirates. "What Countries Does Amazon Operate?," GourmetAds, accessed October 7, 2023, <https://www.gourmetads.com/articles/what-countries-does-amazon-operate/>.
2. Their range of titles and available bibliographic information varied per outlet, but their titles are generally translations of various nineteenth- and twentieth-century works, including Edwin A. Abbott's *Flatland*; Anonymous' *Aladdin and the Magic Lamp*; Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, Edgar Rice Burroughs' *At the Earth's Core*, *The Gods of Mars*, *A Princess of Mars*, *Thuvia, Maid of Mars* and *The Warlord of Mars*; Willa Cather's *O Pioneers!* and *Song of the Lark*; Agatha Christie's *The Murder on the Links* and *The Secret Adversary*; Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*, *Oliver Twist* and *A Tale of Two Cities*; Arthur Conan Doyle's collection *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*; Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *Herland*; Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*; Washington Irving's *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*; Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick*; Baroness Orczy's *The Scarlet Pimpernel*; Myrtle Reed's *Lavender and Old Lace*; Mary Roberts Rinehart's *The Circular Staircase*, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*; Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*; and H. G. Wells' *The Island of Dr Moreau* and *The Time Machine*. They have published only one non-fiction title: various translations of the United States Declaration of Independence, Constitution and Bill of Rights in a single volume, all solely credited to Thomas Jefferson.
3. Random Reviewer, "Someone's Having a Laugh - On Us!," review of *Dé gǔ lā 德古拉*

reviewer include Dracula's letter to Jonathan is signed "Vampire," a stagecoach is called a sports trainer, to cross oneself (make the sign of the cross) is translated as to pass through or over oneself and "strike a match" becomes "hit a competition."

TABLE 1. List of Mollusca Press *Dracula* editions.

Publication date	Language	Title
May 26, 2019	Amharic	ድራኩላ
	Arabic	دراكو لا
	Armenian	Դրակուլա
	Azerbaijani	<i>Dracula</i>
May 27, 2019	Basque	<i>Dracula</i> <sup>a</sup>
	Bengali	ড্রাকুলা
	Bosnian	<i>Dracula</i>
	Bulgarian	Дракула
	Byelorussian	Дракула
July 14, 2019	Afrikaans	<i>Dracula</i>
	Albanian	<i>Dracula</i>
July 27, 2019	Catalan	<i>Dracula</i> <sup>b</sup>
	Cebuano	<i>Dracula</i>
	Chichewa	<i>Dracula</i>
	Chinese	德古拉
	Croatian	<i>Drakula</i>
	Czech	<i>Drákula</i>
	Danish	<i>Dracula</i>
	Dutch	<i>Dracula</i>
	Esperanto	<i>Draculo</i>
	Estonian	<i>Dracula</i>
	Filipino	<i>Dracula</i>
	Georgian	დრაკულა
	German	<i>Dracula</i>
	Greek	Δράκουλα
	Haitian	<i>Dracula</i>
	Hebrew	דרקול
	Hmong (Sino Tibetan)	<i>Dracula</i>
	Hungarian	<i>Dracula</i>
	Icelandic	<i>Drakúla</i>
	Igbo	<i>Dracula</i>

[*Dracula*], by Bram Stoker, Amazon, August 28, 2019, <https://www.amazon.co.uk/gp/customer-reviews/RU38EP7NWFQDC/>.

TABLE 1. (continued)

Publication date	Language	Title
July 28, 2019	Indonesian	<i>Drakula</i>
	Irish	<i>Dracula</i>
	Italian	<i>Dracula</i>
	Japanese	ドラキュラ
	Javanese	<i>Dracula</i>
	Kannada	ಡ್ರಾಕುಲಾ
	Kazakh	Дракула
	Khmer	ព្រីស្តាវ
	Korean	드라큘라
	Kurdish	<i>Dracula</i>
	Finnish	<i>Dracula</i>
	Frisian (Eastern Frisian)	<i>Dracula</i>
	French	<i>Dracula</i>
	Galician	<i>Dràcula</i>
	Gujarati	ડ્રેક્યુલ
	Hausa	<i>Dracula</i>
	Hawaiian	'O <i>Dracula</i>
	Hindi	ड्रेकुला

<sup>a</sup>Jane Austen is incorrectly credited as the author in its listing, “*Dracula: Dracula, Basque Edition*,” Amazon.co.uk, accessed October 5, 2023, <https://www.amazon.co.uk/Dracula-Basque-Jane-Austen/dp/8690877797/>, but not on the book’s cover image.

<sup>b</sup>This is the spelling on the book’s cover image, but the proper Catalan spelling is in the listing. “*Dràcula: Dracula, Catalan Edition*,” Amazon.co.uk, accessed October 5, 2023, <https://www.amazon.co.uk/Dràcula-Dracula-Catalan-Bram-Stoker/dp/8400507290/>.

We could not find any translations from the remaining alphabet, e.g., Malaysian, Portuguese, Spanish, etc.), suggesting that Mollusca Press is (or was, considering the publication dates) in the process of generating copies in alphabetical order but stopped after K.

Each edition is bound with the same picture on the cover, the name Bram Stoker (in English) and the book title written in the language of the text. Further information on Mollusca Press is sought.

J. GORDON MELTON  
Baylor University, USA

ANTHONY HOGG  
Vampire Studies Association, Australia

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## Why the Book Series, Vampire Studies: New Perspectives on the Undead, Is Long Overdue

EDITOR'S NOTE: For those interested in contributing to the series, see details in the inner back cover of this issue.

The forthcoming Peter Lang series, *Vampire Studies: New Perspectives on the Undead*, came about for various reasons, but the main one is that although serious academic research into vampires and their continued importance to literary, historical, and sociological research has been ongoing for around fifty years there was still no book series solely dedicated solely to them. And this seemed shocking to me given the ever-increasing amount of individual essays, dedicated studies, conferences, and even university courses there are on, or adjacent to, research on vampires.

There are many possible reasons for this although my own research over the last fifteen or so years into various aspects of the vampire in popular culture has highlighted what the most important ones might be and why there are lots of books and conferences on the undead, but no book series.<sup>1</sup> The main one of these is the idea that vampires are solely an expression of the Gothic. This is in part due to early explorations of the vampire in books such as Christopher Frayling's *The Vampyre* (1978)<sup>2</sup> and Franco Moretti's *Signs Taken for Wonders* (1983)<sup>3</sup> that tied the figure to classic Gothic works like John William Polidori's *The Vampyre* (1819), Sheridan Le

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1. Dr. Kyle William Bishop has served as series editor for McFarland's Contributions to Zombie Studies which has been running since 2010. It arose from the burgeoning zombie craze at that time; it is surprising no one took advantage of the global *Twilight* phenomenon that occurred a few years earlier to launch something similar for vampires.
  2. Frayling's book laid the foundations for the now canonical causal link from John William Polidori's Lord Ruthven from *The Vampyre* (1819) to Bram Stoker's vampire count in *Dracula* (1897) that establishes the primacy of the British, aristocratic, romantic vampire.
  3. Even though a sociological study, Moretti uses *Dracula* and *Frankenstein's Monster* as inherently Gothic monsters.

Fanu's *Carmilla* (1871–72), and Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897).

Indeed, part of the strategy of the pioneers of vampire studies was to give their research respectability through it emerging from already academically accepted nineteenth century literature—this is a framework that has largely continued up to the present day in terms of the narrative of the Romantic Vampire. More so, is the equally influential idea of the birth of the seminal Gothic Monsters at that fateful night at the Villa Diadoti in the summer of 1816 where, as rather dramatically described on *Atlas Obscura*, “a stretch of cold, dismal summer days brought about by an environmental catastrophe, two of the most influential Gothic horror stories were born within the walls of this villa.”<sup>4</sup> And while there is much to enjoy in this idea it serves to again embed the vampire as only being part of the Gothic imagination and nothing else.

This has had serious ramifications for vampire studies, and more so in terms of a dedicated book series, as academic publishers—as those who will commission or host such a series—still see vampires as, at best, a sub-genre, and at worst as niche topic.<sup>5</sup> Both views result in them preferring book series on “The Gothic” as an umbrella term that will then naturally include all things vampire-related. Alongside this is an equally smothering association with Horror. As the Horror genre has established itself as a topic worthy of individual study, it too has been used to yet again label vampires as a subgenre where all texts relating to vampires and the undead are similarly categorised as being Horror or a variation of it; comedy vampires are Horror Comedies, for example.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, this results in publishers preferring series in Horror Studies of some description that will also inevitably include vampires.

However, in my own research, which includes editing readers and companions on both the Gothic and Horror,<sup>7</sup> as well as eight edited volumes and seven monographs on vampires, has led me to a different view on how Gothic and Horror are related to vampires, and indeed vampire studies as its own separate discipline.

This was made even more clear in light of a large-scale vampire work that I have

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4. Vololona, “Villa Diadoti,” *Atlas Obscura*, May 8, 2018, <https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/villa-diadoti>. The stories were Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus*, 3 vols. (1818) and Polidori's *Vampyre*.
  5. I have experienced this with both Bloomsbury Academic Publishing and Palgrave Macmillan, both to whom the idea of a dedicated Vampire Studies was pitched, but were rejected as they felt the area was already ready covered by their Gothic series’.
  6. The idea that vampire comedies cannot be anything other than horror comedies is exemplified firstly in how books are listed on publisher websites. The McFarland website, for instance, categorises Bacon, ed., *Spoofing the Vampire: Essays on Bloodsucking Comedy* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2022) as “Comedy & Humor” and “Horror,” but not “Vampires.” “Spoofing the Vampire,” McFarland, accessed November 21, 2023, <https://mcfarlandbooks.com/product/spoofing-the-vampire/>. Relatedly, online movie lists typically file Vampire Comedy films as Horror Comedies. For example, Rudransh Bundela, “The 10 Best Vampire Horror Comedy Movies of All Time, Ranked,” *MovieWeb*, July 17, 2023, <https://movieweb.com/best-vampire-comedies-ranked/>.
  7. Bacon, ed., *The Gothic: A Reader* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018); and *Horror: A Companion* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2019).

recently worked on and that is the *Palgrave Handbook of the Vampire*.<sup>8</sup> What was important and enlightening about this work was it was not just the usual scale of handbook or companion that covers between fifteen to thirty essays but a much bigger work comprising of almost one hundred articles. More so, it did not just cover vampires from the English literary tradition onwards, but other literary and cultural perspectives, as well as proto- and folkloric vampires as well. Such a wide-ranging study more clearly reveals how vampires are a genre that are not a subset of other larger groups like the Gothic or Horror, but a separate category that subsequently intersects with other genres.

Importantly, the handbook also brings out the huge variety of vampires and undead that there are within the larger vampire genre. Here then it is not just the blood-sucking romantic kind or the Draculaesque “suddenly sexual women,”<sup>9</sup> but those that feed on other types of human life-force, or are evolutionary vampires that are a separate species to humans, or even non-corporeal entities that materialise in whatever form they want.<sup>10</sup> With this they are not only transgressive monsters, or a “return of the repressed,” but visions of human futures; aspirational figures that reveal how monstrous the modern world has become.

Equally as important in sourcing and bringing together all the essays in the handbook was the realisation of just how many scholars are working in the area of vampire studies and just how varied and widespread that research is. This brought into sharp focus just how important it was to create a central focus of a book series that would provide a specialist home or hub for all these amazing researchers and their research—and those who would want to know and read their work—rather than seeing them dispersed across a multitude of different publishers and lost in generic series’ about the Gothic and/or Horror.

Vampire Studies: New Perspectives on the Undead is then specifically designed to provide such a focus point for vampires and the undead, not just for those writing books or editing collections but for all those researching the topic. The hope is that this will encourage a forever widening network of researchers to connect and explore the rhizomic intersections of the vampire with other established and emerging genres and provide more answers to the ever-prescient question of just why vampires remain so reinvent and fascinating to modern society.

SIMON BACON

*Independent scholar, Poland*

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8. A “living reference work” with chapters published online in 2023, a print version is slated for release on June 28, 2024.
  9. As discussed in Phyllis A. Roth, “Suddenly Sexual Women in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*,” *Literature and Psychology* 27, no. 3 (1977): 113–21, [https://archive.org/details/sim\\_literature-and-psychology\\_1977\\_27\\_3](https://archive.org/details/sim_literature-and-psychology_1977_27_3).
  10. See Margaret L. Carter, “Code-Letter Annotation for Classifying Vampire Fiction,” *Journal of Vampire Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021): 60–67, for a classification of vampire types.—Ed.

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## Publication Date of "The Vampire of Vourla"

### Abbreviations

roy./r. 8vo	royal octavo
s	shillings

"The Vampire of Vourla" is a compelling, though frustrating find. Not only is the gamechanging story's author unknown, but some ambiguities surround its publication date. Álvaro García Marín, the story's discoverer, makes a compelling case for 1845.<sup>1</sup> To give some background, the story was published in an anthology called *The Chaplet*.<sup>2</sup> The book does not have a publication date in the usual locations, i.e. title page or copyright page; instead, most of its twenty-seven engravings (plates) have a publication date underneath the plate's title. From these, García Marín concludes: "twelve of the plates specifically cite January 1, 1845, as their publication date which might suggest a 'compromise date' for a material issued in 1844. However, the twentieth plate is dated November 1, 1845, indicating that the volume was presumably published by the end of that year (gift books were generally released in November or December). The story, consequently, must have been written no later

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1. García Marín, "The Significance of 'The Vampire of Vourla' to Nineteenth-Century Vampire Fiction." *Journal of Vampire Studies* 3 (2023): 47–48.
  2. [Anonymous], "The Vampire of Vourla; Leaves from a Mediterranean Log," in *The Chaplet; An Elegant Literary Miscellany, with Twenty-Seven Highly Finished Engravings on Steel, from the Most Eminent Artists* (London: J. Harwood, ca. 1845), 60–78.



than 1845.”<sup>3</sup> On that point, I’m sceptical and I’ll explain why.

### *An Alternative Publication Date?*

None of the plates in García Marín’s copy pre-date 1845. But I found a copy on eBay that may have plates published beforehand. This would suggest García Marín’s copy is a latter-day reprint.

The eBay copy was listed by The Mad Librarian (<https://www.ebay.com.au/str/themadlibrarian>) on behalf of Rooke Books, East Bath, UK. At that stage, I had already serendipitously discovered the 1845 dates under the plate titles while looking for occurrences of “David Roberts” inside the book via the Google Books scan of the British Library copy García Marín and I initially consulted.<sup>4</sup> I found his name under one of the plates<sup>5</sup> and asked the seller to check for occurrences of 1845 under the Roberts plates. Much to my surprise, I was told: “The first engraving by D. Roberts (the first plate in the text) which has a date, is shown in the first photograph. The last number to the date is difficult to make out, but I believe it says 1843. The date can be seen closer up in the second photograph. The second engraving by D. Roberts (the second plate in the text) which has a date, however, appears to read 1845. The third photograph shows this engraving, with a close up in the fourth photograph.”<sup>6</sup>

One of the photographs did seem to show 1843 under the plate,<sup>7</sup> which García Marín agreed with when I showed it to him.<sup>8</sup> I purchased the book from Mad Librarian and used an Optelec ClearView+ desktop video magnifier at Holmesglen’s Chadstone campus library on November 1, 2023, to zoom into the plate publication dates. Not long after, on November 15, I used the Magnifier app (mainly the inverted filter) on my Apple iPhone 8 at home to view the dates again. In both instances, I

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3. García Marín, “Significance,” 47–48.

4. García Marín, 47, 47n3.

5. I was looking for “David Roberts” to determine if the “D. Roberts” listed was the same person as the famous Scottish painter (1796–1864). It was. I found his name under David Roberts, *Alcazar at Segovia*, engr. J. Redaway, January 1, 1845, in *Chaplet*, 114, a work that previously appeared in Thomas Roscoe, *The Tourist in Spain: Biscay and the Castiles* (London: Robert Jennings, 1837 [1836]), 111, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433070305804>.

6. Laura (Rooke Books), eBay message to the author, August 18, 2023.

7. Katherine (The Mad Librarian), eBay message to the author, August 22, 2023. The photos were out of order with the description. In proper sequence, they were: (1) a close-up of the title and date of David Roberts, *Hall of the Abencerages*, engr. W. Wallis, January 1, 1845, in *Chaplet*, 26; (2) a view of the whole page; (3) a close-up of the title and date of David Roberts, *The Alhambra from the Albaycin*, engr. E. Goodall, January 1, 184[3]?, 9; and (4) a view of the whole page. These engravings were previously been published in Thomas Roscoe, *The Tourist in Spain: Granada* (London: Robert Jennings, 1835 [1834]), 194, 3, <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=qyxTAAAcAAJ>, respectively. This book is an entrant one of the Jennings’ Landscape Annual series. For more on the backdrop of Roberts’ contributions, see A. H. Harley, “Indian Byways: Literary and Pictorial,” *Calcutta Review*, 3rd ser. (November 1924): 297–303, <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.94761>.

8. García Marín, email message to the author, September 5, 2023.

noted perceived in a chart of the plates I compiled and provided García Marín with a similar chart to do the same for his copy.

During these sessions, I determined that twelve plates may have been dated 1843, but this was difficult to confirm as what I perceived to be the upper loop of a 3 appeared to have been worn out, rubbed or scratched off. This suggested three possibilities: (1) García Marín's copy was a reprint with a later date added, (2) mine was a misprint, and/or (3) a vandalised copy of the book. The only way to get greater assurance is to submit my copy to a forensic document examination. But even if some in my copy are dated 1843, both our copies included the November 1, 1845, plate (table 1), reaffirming the probability of García Marín's assertion.<sup>9</sup>

However, these "1843" dates are not my definitive evidence that the book was published earlier.

TABLE 1. *Chaplet* copies owned by Álvaro García Marín (AGM) and Anthony Hogg (AH).

"List of plates" title	Actual plate title	Artist/Engraver	Page no.	Publication date (AGM)	Publication date (AH)
THE VICTOR'S REWARD	The Victor's Reward	J. Hayter/ W. H. Mote	Frontispiece	1845	184[3?]
TETUAN	Tetuan	David Roberts/ E. Goodall	Title page	N.d.	N.d.
THE ALHAMBRA	THE ALHAMBRA FROM THE ALBAYCIN	David Roberts/ E. Goodall	9	Jan.1, 1845	Jan.1, 184[3?]
HALL OF THE ABENCERRAGES	HALL OF THE ABENCERRAGES	David Roberts/ W. Wallis	26	Jan .1,1845	Jan 1,1845
ALICE	Alice	W. Keeling/ Cha <sup>s</sup> Rolls	49	1845	1845
THE HINDOO GIRL	The Hindoo Girl	Poole/Fred. <sup>k</sup> Heath	79	1845	1845
THE FIRST BORN	The First Boon	Partridge/ W. H. Eggleton	84	1845	1845
HALL OF JUDGMENT	HALL OF JUDGMENT	David Roberts/ E. Chalis	86	Jan 1, 1845	Jan 1, 184[3?]

9. Interestingly, the final number of the the plate publication dates under *The Bride; Helen; Adine; Cordova, Looking at the Guadelquiver; The Appointment; The Two Lambs; and The Coquet* in the *Chaplet* copy held at the National Library of Poland (available online at <http://polona.pl/preview/f2b36530-71a3-4028-9610-83177a8f7ebo>) show similar signs of erasure or wear. Further, the "5" in the dates under *Hall of the Abencerages* and *Street of Alcalá, Madrid* plates in this copy appear to have been drawn over a previous number, and possibly the same for *Entrance to the Court of the Orange Trees*.

TABLE 1. (*continued*)

"List of plates" title	Actual plate title	Artist/Engraver	Page no.	Publication date (AGM)	Publication date (AH)
THE BRIDE	The Bride	J. Hayter/ W. H. Mote	88	1845	1845
HELEN	Helen	A. E. Chalon/ W. H. Egleton	95	1845	184[?] <sup>a</sup>
ADINE	Adine	J. Bostock/ H. Robinson	100	1845	1845
CORDOVA	CORDOVA, LOOKING DOWN THE GUADELQUIVER	David Roberts/ J. Cousen	108	Jan .1, 1845	Jan .1, 1845
STREET OF ALCALA, MADRID	STREET OF ALCALÀ, MADRID	David Roberts/ J. T. Willmore	112	Jan.1,1845	Jan.1,184[3?]
THE APPOINTMENT	The Appointment	J. J. Jenkins/ Hall	114	1845	[Plate missing]
ALCAZAR AT SEGOVIA	ALCAZAR AT SEGOVIA	David Roberts/ J. Redaway	114	Jan.1, 1845	Jan.1, 1845
THE MONASTERY OF CARTUJA AT ZEREZ	The Monastery of the Cartuja at Xerez	David Roberts/ Sam. <sup>1</sup> Fisher	117	Jan.1, 1845	Jan.1, 1845
THE TWO LAMBS	The two Lambs	Poole/ Charles Heath	128	1845	1845
GIBRALTAR	GIBRALTAR FROM THE NEUTRAL- GROUND	David Roberts/ J. C. Varrall	130	Jan. 1845	Jan. 1845
GREAT SQUARE AT VITTORIA	GREAT SQUARE AT VITTORIA	David Roberts/ H. Adlard	142	Jan.1, 1845	Jan.1, 184[3?]
IRUN, FROM THE BIDASSOA	IRUN, FROM THE BIDASSOA	David Roberts/ J. Cousen	148	Nov1,1845	Nov 1,1845
TOLEDO	TOLEDO	David Roberts/ T. Jeavons	150	Jan.1, 1845	Jan.1, 184[3?]
PASS OF PANCORVO	PASS OF PANCORBO	David Roberts/ J. C. Varrall	158	Jan.2 ,1845	Jan. 2 ,184[3?]

TABLE 1. (continued)

"List of plates" title	Actual plate title	Artist/Engraver	Page no.	Publication date (AGM)	Publication date (AH)
ROYAL PALACE, MADRID	ROYAL PALACE, MADRID	David Roberts/ R. Wallis	160	Jan 1, 1845	Jan 1, 184[3?]
ENTRANCE TO BURGOS	ENTRANCE TO BURGOS	David Roberts/ J. Carter	166	1845	Jan 1, 184[3?]
ENTRANCE TO THE COURT OF THE ORANGE TREES	ENTRANCE TO THE COURT OF THE ORANGE TREES	D. Roberts/ James B. Allen	175	Jan.1, 1845	Jan.1, 184[3?]
SEVILLE, FROM THE CRUZ DEL CAMPO	SEVILLE FROM THE CRUZ DEL CAMPO	David Roberts/ Freebairn	177	Jan .1, 1845	Jan .1, 184[3?]
THE COQUETTE	The Coquet	A. E. Chalon/ W. H. Eggleton	187	1845	[N.d.]

NOTE: Page numbers derived from "List of Plates" page; actual pages plates printed are unpaginated but printed between the page number listed and the next paginated page. Actual plate titles not reproduced in small caps echo represent different font in original source. Spacing and placement of periods in dates also echoes use in original text. Some plate title text sizes have been deliberately reduced so letters do not appear individually on following line.

<sup>a</sup>Only bottom loop visible.

### Library Copy Clues

Furthering his assertion that the book was published in 1845, García Marín stated: "Other online catalog records of libraries holding copies of *Chaplet* use the same date, and there is no reason to doubt its plausibility."<sup>10</sup> The matter is not so clear-cut.

I checked global union catalogue, WorldCat (<https://search.worldcat.org/>), to find out which libraries held a copy. Including the British Library copy we consulted, I found a total of fourteen listings. The individual catalogue records of these libraries cited 1845 as the book's publication date,<sup>11</sup> but nearly all included notations indicating uncertainty of the year, typically adding square brackets and/or question marks to it (table 2).

Seven of the fourteen records contained clues pointing to their date sources; three records mentioned the dates accompanying engravings, one mentioned WorldCat, and five made reference to "Faxon," i.e. Frederick Winthrop Faxon's *Literary Annuals and Gift-Books* (1912), which lists an 1845 and 1846 edition of *Chaplet*

10. García Marín, 47.

11. Except the State Library of Western Australia; which did not seem to have a copy of the book in their catalogue.

in its English literary annuals section.<sup>12</sup> Outside library records, I found an 1848 version listed in two editions of a nineteenth-century bookseller's catalogue.<sup>13</sup> The sequencing of these books partly addresses García Marín's uncertainty as to whether *Chaplet* was "a gift book or literary magazine."<sup>14</sup>

TABLE 2. Libraries *Chaplet* copies dated 1845.

Library	Location	Publication date	Date sources
Central City Library	Auckland Central, New Zealand	1845 [1845?]	
State Library of Western Australia	Perth Cultural Centre, Perth	N/A	N/A
Cecil H. Green Library	Stanford University, Stanford, CA	1845? [1845?]	"Faxon, p. 87, item 1142."
Hale Library	Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS	1845?	
Memorial Library	University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI	[1845?]	"Engravings dated 1845." "Faxon, 1142."

12. Faxon, *Literary Annuals and Gift-Books: A Bibliography with a Descriptive Introduction* (Boston: Boston Book Company, 1912), 87, <https://archive.org/details/literaryannualsgoofaxouoft>. The "1142" notation refers to the item number for the book in the bibliography. Faxon had previously listed the *Chaplet* editions in "The English Drawing-Room Annuals; A Bibliography," *Bulletin of Bibliography* 6, no. 4 (July 1910): 112, [https://archive.org/details/sim\\_bulletin-of-bibliography\\_1910-07\\_6\\_4](https://archive.org/details/sim_bulletin-of-bibliography_1910-07_6_4). His bibliographic source for *Chaplet* was "T.-B.," i.e. C[harles] Tallent-Bateman (110). The drawing room annual was a specific literary annual format: "A change took place in the 1830s from the pocket Annual to that intended for the drawing room of boudoir, a change that is reflected in the contemporary increase in the number of novels dealing with fashionable life and high society. The proprietors of the Annuals were quick to cash in on the increasing demand from the middle classes to learn about the new code of manners, modes of dress, and styles of conversation. The contributors to the Annuals now included aristocratic names and the editors were titled ladies. The engravings were now scenes from nature, aristocratic mansions and idealised portraits of nobility, and the Annuals were now tables in quarto format." "Literary Annuals," Special Collections & Archives, University of Liverpool Library, accessed December 12, 2023, <https://libguides.liverpool.ac.uk/library/sca/literaryannuals>.
13. Willis and Southeran, *A Catalogue of Valuable New and Second-Hand Books, English and Foreign, in All Classes of Literature and the Fine Arts, Also, Early Printed Books, Manuscripts, etc.* (London: Willis and Southeran, 1859), 62, <https://books.google.com.au?id=MrJfAAAAcAAJ>; and *A Catalogue of Upwards of Fifty Thousand Volumes, of Ancient and Modern Books, English and Foreign, in All Classes of Literature and the Fine Arts, Including Rare and Curious Books, Manuscripts, etc.* (London: Willis and Southeran, 1862), 107, <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=N97zZWHL-ioC>.
14. García Marín, "Significance," 47.

TABLE 2. (continued)

Library	Location	Publication date	Date sources
Joseph Regenstein Library	University of Chicago, Chicago, IL	[1845?]	"Engravings dated to 1845."  "Faxon, F. W. Literary annuals and gift books, 1142"
Louis Round Wilson Library	University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC	[1845?]	"Faxon, 1142"
David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library	Duke University, Durham, NC	[1845?]	"Faxon, F. W. Literary annuals and gift books, 1142"  "Engravings dated to 1845."
Cotsen Children's Library	Princeton University, Princeton, NJ	[1845]	"(from WorldCat)"
Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library of Poland)	Warsaw, Poland	[1845]	
Landesbibliothek Coburg	Coburg, Germany	[1845]	
University Library (Archives and Research Collections)	University of York, York, UK	[1845?]	"Engravings dated 1845."  "Presented to Miss Derek [?] by her cousin Thomas Thornton, 1st January 1845."
British Library	London, UK	[c. 1845]	
National Library of Scotland	Edinburgh, UK	[1845?]	
Biblioteca Hospital Real	University of Granada, Spain	1845	

NOTE: Bibliographic data obtained from online catalogue records of respective libraries.

I couldn't find any copies of the book pre-dating 1845 on WorldCat.<sup>15</sup> If the 1845

15. There were similar titles, like *The Chaplet, A Collection of Poems; Partly Original and Partly Selected from the Most Approved Authors* (Ipswich, UK: J. Raw; Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme; Vernor and Hood, 1805), <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=TrYDAAAAQAAJ>, but none matching the *Chaplet; An Elegant Literary Miscellany* titling, little alone others published by J. Harwood. "Chaplet" wasn't unheard of for books of this type; a few variants are listed in Faxon, *Literary Annuals*, xv, 43, 54, 115.

edition is the first edition, there are three remaining pieces of evidence suggesting it was published earlier than assumed.

### *Flyleaf Inscription*

Only one of the fourteen library records mentioned an inscription with a specific date. The following transcription is from the front flyleaf of the copy held in the University of York Archives and Research Collections: “Presented to Miss Derek [?] by her cousin Thomas Thornton, 1st January 1845.”<sup>16</sup> I have also viewed this inscription.<sup>17</sup> I find it highly unlikely that the book was published, available for purchase, and gifted the first day of that year. And, if so, what of the plate publication dates post-dating January 1? It’s possible the book may have been a preprint, or Thornton had written the wrong date, but it is not the earliest reference to the book (or, at least, one of its volumes) that I’ve found.

### *Supplement Listing*

The earliest trace of the book I could find is a brief entry in a book trade journal listing books published between November 6 and December 6, 1844: “Chaplet (The), an Elegant Miscellany, with 27 plates, roy. 8vo, morocco, 16s.”<sup>18</sup> An almost identical listing is included in its follow-up supplement covering books and engravings published in 1844: “Chaplet (The), an Elegant Miscellany, with 27 plates, r. 8vo.”<sup>19</sup>

### *Gift Book vs. Literary Annual*

It should be noted that while “gift book” is often used interchangeably with literary annuals, but the former technically refers to a specific type of one-off publication.<sup>20</sup> The *Chaplet*, clearly, was not. Indeed, García Marín initially purchased what he thought was the volume containing “The Vampire of Vourla,” but was actually a

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16. “The Chaplet, an Elegant Literary Miscellany : With Twenty-Seven Highly Finished Engravings of Steel from the Most Eminent Artists,” YorSearch, University of York Archives and Research Collections, accessed November 27, 2023, [https://yorsearch.york.ac.uk/permalink/f/18cp4hm/44YORK\\_ALMA\\_DS21280238910001381](https://yorsearch.york.ac.uk/permalink/f/18cp4hm/44YORK_ALMA_DS21280238910001381).
  17. Photo attachments in Neil Adams, email message to the author, November 28, 2023. Like the library, I’m unsure of the rendering of the gift recipient’s name. Of further interest, the book is part of the archive’s Heath Collection; books bequeathed to the university by John Heath (1922–2009). He was related to Frederick Heath (1810–1875) and Charles Heath (1785–1848), two of the engravers whose work feature in *Chaplet* (see table 1).
  18. New Publications, *Supplement to Bent’s Monthly Literary Advertiser*, December [11], 1844, 196, <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=Tp9bAAAAcAAJ>.
  19. Untitled list of new books, *Supplement to Bent’s Monthly Literary Advertiser*, January 10, 1845, 200, <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=Tp9bAAAAcAAJ>.
  20. Katherine D. Harris, *Forget Me Not: The Rise of the British Literary Annual, 1823–1835* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2015), 18, 62, EBSCO eBook Academic Collection.

different edition with different contents.<sup>21</sup> But the most pertinent aspect of literally annuals, when determining their publication dates, is that “they were released late in the year and dated for the following year. This meant that they proved to be popular Christmas gifts.”<sup>22</sup>

### *Probable Date*

Combined, these factors lead me to believe that “The Vampire of Vourla” was first published between November and December in 1844, not 1845—a case I made while editing García Marín’s article. That’s what led to his “compromise” suggestion.

The biggest stumbling block to committing to this date, however, has been the November 1, 1845 plate. The plate publication date sequencing is unusual; why would the plates include a January 1st, 2nd *and* November 1st date if it wasn’t published in 1845? Is there a precedent for post-dating works in this manner? I’m not sure. Nonetheless, I will continue to investigate.

### *Acknowledgements*

I would like to thank Laura of Rooke Books, East Bath, UK, and Katherine “The Mad Librarian” for sharing pictures of the *Chaplet* for dating verification purposes; Philip V. Allingham and Katherine D. Harris for discussing post-dating in nineteenth century literary annuals; Álvaro García Marín for providing the data for table 2; and Neil Adams, Archives Assistant, Borthwick Institute for Archives at the University of York, for providing photos of relevant *Chaplet* pages.

ANTHONY HOGG

*Vampire Studies Association, Australia*

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21. *The Chaplet; An Elegant Literary Miscellany, Illustrated with Highly-Finished Engravings on Steel, from the Most Eminent Artists*, 2nd ser. (London: J. Harwood, ca. 1846). This date is derived from the year pencilled on its title page. Most plates in this version are dated November 1, 1846, with one dated November 1, 1847—and another January 1, 1843!

22. University of Liverpool Library, “Literary Annuals.”



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## Book Reviews

Cameron, Brooke, and Lara Karpenko, eds. *The Vampire in Nineteenth-Century Literature: A Feast of Blood*. New York: Routledge, 2022. Pp. xii + 207. \$170.00 (hardcover). ISBN 978-1-032-00177-7. PDF supplied by publisher for review.

Having written on *Dracula* and a number of other works featuring vampires,<sup>1</sup> I found I still had a lot to learn from the essays in this collection. The co-editors are ideally placed to assemble this informative collection. Brooke Cameron, author of *Critical Alliances: Economics and Feminism in English Women's Writing, 1880-1914* (2020), has written numerous peer-reviewed articles on the late nineteenth century and, most recently, co-edited a special vampire-themed issue of *Revenant*.<sup>2</sup> Lara Karpenko has also written a number of articles on Victorian studies and co-edited *Strange Science: Investigating the Limits of Knowledge in the Victorian Age* (2016).

Their introduction is especially interesting because it provides a thorough overview of the vampire in the nineteenth century and its ancestors in folklore. Paying particular attention to John William Polidori's *The Vampyre* (1819) and the numerous plays based on it, Cameron and Karpenko also comment on the influence of James Malcolm Rhymer's *Varney the Vampire* (1845-47) on working class readers. Their introduction also comments on the way Caribbean and African diaspora traditions were woven into various vampire tales that reveal how race intersects with the Gothic. Finally, the introduction provides insights into the organization of the collection. The editors explain that they divided the volume into four thematic units to "highlight the vampire's ability to shape and be shaped by nineteenth-century preoccupations, anxieties, and desires" (6). The four sections are: "(1) Racialized and Postcolonial Vampires, (2) Vampires' Embodied Desire and Sexuality, (3) Vampiric Time and History, and (4) Vampiric Reproduction and Adaptation" (6). The essays also reveal familiar approaches to the literary vampire including the ways writers integrate explorations of race, culture, social upheaval, gender and sexuality, new knowledge, and technology with the vampire.

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1. For example, Senf, *The Vampire in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988); *Dracula: Between Tradition and Modernism* (New York: Twayne Publishers; London: Prentice Hall International, 1998); "The Literary Vampire Before *Dracula*," in *Bram Stoker's "Dracula": A Documentary Volume*, ed. Elizabeth Miller (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2005), 75-82; and "Victorian Female Vampires and the New Woman," in *The Palgrave Handbook of the Vampire*, ed. Simon Bacon (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-82301-6\\_11-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-82301-6_11-1).
  2. Cameron, Suyin Olguin, and Ian M. Clark, eds., "Vampires: Consuming Monsters and Monstrous Consumption," special issue, *Revenant*, no. 9 (September 2023), <https://www.revenantjournal.com/issues/vampires-consuming-monsters-and-monstrous-consumption/>. [She has a connection to this journal, too: "Reading the Queer Code in 'The True Story of a Vampire,'" by Count Stanislaus Eric Stenbock," was published in *Journal of Vampire Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021): 45-59, under her S. Brooke Cameron byline.—Ed.]

In addition to finding familiar approaches to literary vampires, readers of *The Vampire in Nineteenth-Century Literature* will discover a number of familiar names, including Ardele Haefele-Thomas, John Edgar Browning, Matthew Gibson, Sarah E. Maier, Rebecca Nesvet, and Gary D. Rhodes. The reader will also encounter essays on *The Vampyre*, J. Sheridan LeFanu's *Carmilla* (1871–72), Robert Louis Stevenson's "Olalla" (1885), Mary Elizabeth Braddon's "Good Lady Ducayne" (1896), Florence Marryat's *The Blood of the Vampire* (1897), and, of course, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897). Even more important though is the fact that some less familiar works get the attention they deserve.

Before examining some of the essays on literature in greater detail, I'd like to single out one essay for special attention. "A Financial Vampire': The Aesthetics of Repetition in Eric Stenbock's *Studies of Death*" (139–53) was written by Karpenko and a team of five undergraduate students. The essay focuses on Stenbock's *Studies in Death: Romantic Tales* (1894), a work with which I am unfamiliar though I have read "The True Story of a Vampire," a short story from the collection that is frequently anthologized but rarely discussed in detail. The essay is well worth reading for its commentary on fin-de-siècle capitalism in Stenbock's works and for the charming drawing by Stenbock of a "Pre-adamite elephant adoring a sunflower" (149), but Karpenko moves beyond analysis of literature to focus on reasons to collaborate with undergraduates. Concluding the essay with a nod to George Levine, who many years ago commented on the disconnect between scholarly work and undergraduate teaching, Karpenko both suggests a way to bridge that divide and provides insights into the capitalist vampire. It is thus inspiring on multiple levels.

While the essay by Karpenko and her students is particularly inspiring, the collection is especially useful for introducing readers to other unfamiliar works. Even though I have written on Marryat's *Blood of the Vampire*<sup>3</sup> and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847),<sup>4</sup> Giselle Liza Anatol's "Black Female Vampires in Nineteenth-Century Writing and Folklore" (11–26) showed me how much I have to learn about the cultural fears that produced them. Anatol provides an especially compelling reading of Braddon's short story as well as insights into the way Stoker treats blood to signify inheritance. Adding to our understanding of Marryat's novel as well as Stevenson's "Olalla" is Kimberly Cox's "The Vampire's Touch in 'Olalla' and *The Blood of the Vampire*" (110–25), which analyzes figures that are very different from the typical literary vampire though they can both be characterized as monstrous.

Brenda Mann Hammack's "Sicker Ever After: The Invalid as Vampire in Fiction by Arabella Kenealy and Mary E. Wilkins Freeman" (27–46) provided new insights into their works which I have touched on in my research on female vampires,<sup>5</sup> but never

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3. Senf, "Victorian Female Vampires," 1, 2, 3, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16.

4. Senf, "Jane Eyre and the Evolution of a Feminist History," *Victorians Institute Journal* 13 (1985): 67–82; and "Jane Eyre: The Prison-House of Victorian Marriage," *Journal of Women's Studies in Literature* 1, no. 4 (Autumn 1979): 353–59.

5. Senf, "Victorian Female Vampires," 1, 3, 4, 6, 8–10, 16, 17.

thoroughly explored. In fact, Hammock's essay is particularly well-researched, its discussion of medicine at the end of the nineteenth century especially illuminating and worth reading by anyone interested in science or medicine in the nineteenth century.

If the vampire works by Kenealy and Freeman have received relatively little critical commentary, Richard Francis Burton's adaptation of Indian *vetala* tales has received even less. Ardele Haefele-Thomas's excellent article, "'The Dropping of Blood from the Clouds': Imperial Vampirism in Richard Burton's *Vikram and the Vampire or Tales of Hindu Devilry*" (47–62), provides important insights into his 1870 book as well as explaining that its negative depiction of the British Empire resulted in its falling into obscurity. I confess that I had never been much interested in Burton's work, but this essay makes me want to reread it. And Haefele-Thomas comments specifically on the fact that Burton was both a participant in colonization and a critic of it.

Rebecca McLean's essay on the addict as the Gothic Other in "The Addict as Vampire" (81–85) provides convincing readings of several works by George MacDonald: "The Cruel Painter" (1864), *Donal Grant* (1883), and *Lilith: A Romance* (1895).

Entirely new to me was the subject of the essay by Gary D. Rhodes and John Edgar Browning, "America's First Vampire Novel and the Supernatural as Artifice" (170–82). It's no surprise that the two who are associated with scholarship on vampires and other monsters would come up with something truly revolutionary, an anonymous 1885 dime novel called *The Vampire; or, Detective Brand's Greatest Case*. Rhodes and Browning make the case that this novel differs from its predecessors by featuring a villainous human who punctures the throats of his victims. Unfamiliar with the novel (which I hope to read since it's now available in paperback with material by Rhodes and Browning),<sup>6</sup> I nonetheless wish that Rhodes and Browning had condensed the overly long summary (five pages) and spent more than one page addressing the significance of dime novels. Indeed, the overly brief conclusion suggests numerous connections to other essays in this collection, including those that focus on racial and gendered otherness.

If the essays on unfamiliar vampires suggest new works to explore, the essays on familiar works demonstrate that there is always more to learn. Lin Young provides a queer reading of *Carmilla* in "Curating the Vampire: Queer (Un)Natural Histories in *Carmilla*" (63–80) but more importantly, connects LeFanu's work to the development of the museum in the nineteenth century. Co-editor of the collection, Brooke Cameron, examines gender in "'What a Vampire!': Gender and the Modern Sexual Contract in Braddon's 'Good Lady Ducayne'" (96–109) while Matthew Gibson focuses on "The Vampire as Byron: Polidori's Story Adapted to the French and British Stage" (154–69). There's nothing earth shattering in Gibson's essay, but it is thoroughly

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6. Rhodes and Browning, eds., *The Vampire; or, Detective Brand's Greatest Case* (Chicago: Strangers from Nowhere, 2022).

researched and a reminder of works too rarely studied. Another work that is often mentioned but rarely discussed at length *finally* receives serious attention in Rebecca Nesvet's groundbreaking essay, "'Keep[ing] Time at Arm's-Length': Vampire and Veterans in *Varney*" (125–38). Not only does Nesvet's essay provide a wealth of information about the penny bloods and dreadfuls, but it also provides valuable insights into the plight of British Navy veterans.

The volume concludes appropriately enough with, "Queerly (Re)Vamped: Women, Men and Neo-Victorian *Dracula*(s)" (183–99), an essay by Sarah E. Maier. Known for her excellent work on neo-Victorian literature, Maier turns her skills to *Dracula* and his descendants, including Elizabeth Kostova's *The Historian* (2005), Dacre Stoker and Ian Holt's *Dracula the Un-Dead* (2009), as well as to films and television series. The essay, which focuses on gender, serves as an ideal conclusion for the collection in that it explores how recent adaptations of Stoker's novel provide new insights into the novel as well as insights into contemporary culture.

In addition to the essays, the volume includes an excellent and usable seven-page index. I might complain a bit that the collection lacks a bibliography. However, the astute reader can provide her own bibliography since each essay includes comprehensive notes.

With the possible exception of readers who are looking for new treatments of *Dracula*, this volume should be the feast promised by its subtitle. The twelve essays include insights into most of the major works of vampire literature in the nineteenth century and opens up less familiar works for additional research. Reading these essays has encouraged me to reread both Burton's *Vikram and the Vampire* and *Varney the Vampire* as well as read for the first time *Detective Brand's Greatest Case*. It has also provided fresh insights into various works by women writers. A feast indeed!

CAROL A. SENF  
Georgia Institute of Technology, USA

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De Ceglia, Francesco Paolo. *Vampyr: Storia naturale della resurrezione* [Vampyr: A natural history of resurrection]. Turin: Einaudi, 2023. Pp. xv, 415. €34.00 (hardcover). ISBN 978-88-06-25664-7.

Francesco Paolo de Ceglia’s most recent book, *Vampyr*, endows Italian-speaking scholarship on historical vampirism with a new, substantial contribution, twelve years after Tommaso Braccini’s learned monograph *Prima di Dracula* (Before Dracula) (2011). These two books are in many ways complementary and can be seen as two parts of the same, ideal diptych. A Classical philologist and a specialist in Byzantine studies, Braccini, as per the subtitle of his book, undertook a veritable “archaeology of the vampire,” exploring a vast body of sources in search of the presumed ancient roots of vampire-related beliefs. His research, consequently, adopted a *longue durée* approach, spanning from Classical antiquity through the long history of the Byzantine empire, and was characterized by an explicitly Hellenocentric standpoint, primarily focusing on the territories of the former Eastern Roman empire. A historian of science and the author, in the past few years, of a number of contributions on the relationship between science and the supernatural in the late modern and contemporary ages,<sup>1</sup> de Ceglia chooses instead to undertake an experiment in “storia naturale” (natural history), “un genere letterario, antico e moderno al tempo stesso, capace di intrecciare narrazione e spiegazione una storia naturale che ripercorra, a una a una, le principali figure dell’immaginario notturno dell’Europa centroorientale” (a literary genre, ancient and modern at the same time, a natural history that might be capable of interweaving narrative and explanation,

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1. Here, I am referring in particular to Francesco Paolo de Ceglia and Pierroberto Scaramella, eds., *I demoni di Napoli. Naturale, preternaturale, soprannaturale a Napoli e nell’Europa di età moderna* [The demons of Naples: Natural, preternatural, supernatural in Naples and Europe across the Modern Age] (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2021); Francesco Paolo de Ceglia and Lorenzo Leporiere, *La pitonessa, il pirata e l’acuto osservatore. Spiritismo e scienza nell’Italia della belle époque* [The pythoness, the pirate, and the acute observer: Spiritualism and science in *belle époque* Italy] (Milan: Editrice Bibliografica, 2018); and Francesco Paolo de Ceglia, *Il segreto di san Gennaro: Storia naturale di un miracolo napoletano* [The secret of Saint Januarius: Natural history of a Neapolitan miracle] (Turin: Einaudi, 2016).

thereby retracing, one by one, the principal figures of nocturnal imaginary in Central-eastern Europe) (xiii).

From these few lines, we can draw the principal axes on which de Ceglia's analysis articulates itself. Although unavoidably dealing with the Greek-speaking world as well, *Vampyr* primarily focuses on Central and Eastern Europe and, therefore, on the German and Slavic linguistic domains, with the result of isolating a "cintura europea dei vampiri" (European belt of vampires) that extends itself more north- and eastwards than Braccini's geographical scope (40).<sup>2</sup> Chronologically, although frequently moving across centuries, de Ceglia adopts a much narrower time-span (xiii), running from the Autumn of 1731—when Austrian lieutenant colonel Schnezzer undertook a preliminary investigation on the alleged posthumous crimes of Arnold Paole in the Serbian village of Medvedja (4)—to March 1755, when the Habsburg monarchy legally subtracted all inquiry on presumed cases of vampirism from ecclesiastical authorities, thereby sanctioning the primacy of medical and scientific discourses against those of theology and of canon law (333). This choice enables for a closer reading of sources, at the intersection between medicine and jurisprudence, that intentionally leaves aside the intellectual and theological debates of Western Europe: "più che la storia del contrasto al vampirismo," de Ceglia writes, "ciò che ora resta da scrivere è quella delle origini di quest'ultimo" (more than the history of the fight against vampirism, what remains to be written is now the history of its origins) (xii). If those Western debates constitute what de Ceglia terms "la preistoria del vampirismo à la Dracula" (the prehistory of Dracula-style vampirism), the book can, consequently, be read as an examination of "la preistoria della preistoria di Dracula" (the prehistory of the prehistory of Dracula) (xii). Finally, and most importantly, this geographical breadth, combined with chronological narrowness, allows de Ceglia to undertake a deliberately comparative analysis of different beliefs and figures of folklore that have remained marginalized by the all-encompassing pre-eminence of the vampire as a distinct cultural construct of the eighteenth century. As de Ceglia painstakingly demonstrates throughout the book, the idea of the vampire results from the combination of a set of features that can hardly, if at all, be found in one single folkloric figure of a single, specific area, and even less under the very name of "vampire" or of its cognates. The study of vampirism, therefore, might not tell us much about the actual beliefs of single communities—which would rather benefit from the temporary dismissal of such an intrusive umbrella-term—but remains of paramount importance for the understanding of the culture that receives, and is fascinated by, the vampire such as that of Western Europe (and, later, of the global world). As de Ceglia says, when "non c'è un oggetto fisico che possa fungere da nucleo di condensazione del . . . discorso" (there is no physical object acting as a condensation nucleus of [a] discourse), the discourse around that object will be

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2. The map included in the book is, as per de Ceglia's admission (viii), drawn from Thomas Bohn, *Der Vampir: Ein europäischer Mythos* [The vampire: A European myth] (Cologne: Böhlau, 2016).

distinctly revealing of the desires, fears, and ultimately of the most intimate identity of those who articulate it (xiii). Here's one of the reasons, and perchance the most relevant one, of books that, such as this one, choose to focus on "[i]l nulla" (nothingness), articulating a "storia epistemologica di oggetti inesistenti" (the epistemological history of non-existent objects) (xiii).

*Vampyr* adopts a lively narrative style. Without adhering to a strictly chronological structure, each chapter creates an itinerary across the imaginary of the late modern age, between different cultures and linguistic domains as well as disciplinary discourses, at the intersection between science and magic, superstition and rationalism. In a context such as the Italian one, where a remarkable interest in the literary and cinematographic incarnations of the vampire has scarcely been coupled, with a few exceptions, by an equal appreciation for historical vampirism,<sup>3</sup> this work will hopefully create the grounds for a new, Italian-speaking body of scholarship on such a challenging chapter of an ideal, transnational history of resurrection.

FABIO CAMILLETTI  
University of Warwick, UK

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3. Crucial texts of the eighteenth-century debate on vampires have been translated by small, independent publishers, consequently meeting only scarce attention outside of specialist circles. See, for example, Gerard Van Swieten, *Vampyrismus*, ed. Piero Violante (Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio, 1988); Michael Ranft, *Diceria del vampiro. De masticatione mortuorum in tumulis* [The vampire's tale: *De masticatione mortuorum in tumulis*], trans. Gloria Nagly (Milan: Libri Perduti, 2011); and Giuseppe Davanzati, *Dissertazione sopra i vampiri* [Dissertation on vampires], ed. Giacomo Annibaldis (Bari: BESA, 1998). Paul Barber's *Vampires, Burial, and Death: Folklore and Reality* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988) was published in Italian as *Vampiri, sepoltura e morte*, trans. Chiara Gabutti (Parma: Pratiche Editrice, 1994), but was never reprinted and is now a valued collector's item. Exceptions to my statement include Massimo Introvigne, *La stirpe di Dracula: Indagine sul vampirismo dall'antichità ai nostri giorni* [Dracula's breed: A survey of vampirism from antiquity to the present day] (Milan: Oscar Mondadori, 1997), Monica Petronio, *Dai vampiri al conte Dracula: Un viaggio nell'immaginario occidentale* [From vampires to Count Dracula: A journey into the imaginary of the West] (Palermo: Sellerio, 1999); and most of all Carlo Dogheria, *Santi e vampiri: Le avventure del cadavere* [Saints and vampires: The adventures of the corpse] (Rome: Stampa Alternativa, 2006).



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Frayling, Christopher. *Vampire Cinema: The First One Hundred Years*. London: Reel Art Press, 2022. Pp. 271. £39.95 (hardcover). ISBN 978-1-909526-88-4.

Running on the basis that the first vampire movie was *Nosferatu: Eine Symphonie des Grauens* (*Nosferatu: A Symphony of Horror*), released in 1922 (15, 44), then this large, coffee-table volume was released on the centenary year of the vampire movie. What it does not do is subsequently chart that century in detail though nor does it mean

The volume through to page 58 does chart a brief potted history of the vampire genre beginning with John William Polidori's *The Vampyre* (1819) and working through to film, touching on some folklore also. Within this it does make some salient points against the popular tide, such as stating that the Vlad Țepeș connection to Dracula, within Stoker's work, was minimal (23) and that the Georges Méliès film, *Le Manoir du diable* (*The Devil's Castle*) (1896), was not a vampire film and any such connection is a modern reinterpretation (43). However, there are occasional factual errors in text for instance writing about "Boris Karloff voicing a puppet Count" (49) in *Mad Monster Party?* (1967), when he actually voiced Baron Boris von Frankenstein and Count Dracula was voiced by Allen Swift (credited as Alan Swift).

Beyond these there is little in the way of academic rigour (probably because this is not an academic tome). In text citations are not included and the bibliography is scant and doesn't pick up texts that might be of interest. For example, the author

points to a text that looked at the “New Woman” in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897) in 1982 and another looking at it through the lens of gender studies in 1984 (37), but names neither book in text and no book is listed from either year in the bibliography (271), so the interested reader cannot pinpoint either text through this volume.<sup>1</sup>

However, the true purpose of the book is to showcase artwork, publicity shots and stills from various vampire films over the hundred years. The large size of the book means the sumptuously coloured reproductions (where colour is appropriate) look really good. Each film receives a small, chatty treatment mostly of around a paragraph’s length. The films chosen are, for the most part, pretty obvious choices—though some entries, such as *Dracula Sucks* (1978) (180–81), were more leftfield, and some films were lumped together in a single entry, for instance *Blacula* (1972) and *Scream Blacula Scream* (1973) (170–73).

As far as I could tell every film listed will have had a cinema release and none were straight to video, even so this is no definitive list of those films shown on the big screen—there is also a television section with ten vehicles highlighted (237–63) (with one of them being a feature-length adaptation released in cinemas), so again not definitive. That said, the purpose is the art and the art looks good—this is neither useful in an academic or a definitive list sense but is a handsome tome that fulfils the purpose it set itself.

ANDREW M. BOYLAN

*Vampire Studies Association, Australia/UK*

Kazemi, Farshid. *A Girl Walks Home Alone at Night*. Liverpool: Auteur, 2021. Pp. 119. £19.99 (paperback). ISBN 978-1-800085-921-0.

*A Girl Walks Home Alone at Night* (known forthwith as *A Girl*) is a 2014 film by Ana Lily Amirpour that deserves a dedicated study of it. It is a wonderful film, and not just within the vampire genre, but cinema as a whole. Complicated, poetic, unforgettable, and with so many possible readings a guide into what kinds of topics one should consider when watching the film, whether for the first or the fiftieth time, is an important and timely undertaking to bring to print. Auteur’s Devils Advocates series is the perfect vehicle for such an endeavour too. Never overstaying their welcome, they allow for a pithy yet knowledgeable roadmap to a film, its background, context, and what to look out for while watching or researching a particular movie. The “trick” with these kinds of books is to give it a unique perspective on the film while also covering all the major ways one can read it.

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1. The likely candidates are Carol A. Senf, “‘Dracula’: Stoker’s Response to the New Woman,” *Victorian Studies* 26, no. 1 (Autumn 1982): 33–49; and Christopher Craft, “‘Kiss Me with Those Red Lips’: Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*,” *Representations*, no. 8 (Fall 1984): 107–33, respectively.—Ed.

On first look, Farshid Kazemi's book promises to fulfill those criteria. It begins with a list of contents that is essentially five sections, most of which are divided into smaller parts: introduction (two parts); chapter 1, "*Unheimlich* between the Weird and the Eerie: *A Girl* with Vampire Cinema" (five parts); chapter 2, "The Repressed Returns in the Real: *A Girl* with Psychoanalytic Theory" (five parts); chapter 3, "The Night of the World: *A Girl* with German Idealism" (five parts); and the conclusion, "A Reverie for the Vampire and the Night," which is without such divisions. The book opens with a preface, "Toto, I've a Feeling We're Not in Kansas Anymore," that is not really one, but tries to mirror the opening of Amirpour's film itself which begins with a scene set outside of the main location of the narrative and sets the tone of what is to follow.

Kazemi's preface then suggests that what follows will be poetic, about film—not vampire films which is an important distinction—and a descent into another world with the inference this world will be located somewhere between Oz (from Victor Fleming's *The Wizard of Oz* [1939]) and the Underworld. Also, of note in the preface, is that it is largely a close reading of the opening scene from *A Girl*, which then suggests this will be the format going forward, though this is not necessarily the case.

The introduction, which quickly states it will not include the later comic book that tells the origin story of The Girl,<sup>2</sup> reiterates the numbered sections as the three main theoretical frameworks that will be explored in the book and then qualifies this with some further detail for each, which is of note as this too has recurrent themes that in part link the various frameworks together but also form parallel, minor threads to the major ones. Subsequently the description of the first section states that it will also place *A Girl* in relation to the vampire genre and vampire cinema—there is an important distinction between these two which is not identified in the book and will be discussed later—Iranian cinema, a new film movement the author calls "*Unheimlich between the Weird and the Eerie*" (11) that is positioned in relation to Mark Fisher's definitions of the "Weird" and the "Eerie,"<sup>3</sup> further discussion of the film in relation to Iran, how *A Girl* also links to early vampire cinema and specifically F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu* (1922), and how both Murnau and Amirpour's films feature the "hitherto unexplored relation to the (Islamicate) occult sciences and to the cinematic medium" (12). For chapter 2, the psychoanalytic chapter, everything largely revolves around the return of the repressed and how that is configured, even in the "Islamo-Shi'ite jurisprudential imaginary" (12), in relation to the "Real." This is explored via Freud and Lacan and is further supplemented with Michel Chion's concept of "athorybos"—written text that is not verbalised in the cinematic space. The final chapter, which suggests it is rooted in German Idealism then returns to the idea of phantasmagoria—previously mentioned briefly in the description of the first

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1. The prequel comic is in two parts: Lily Ana Amirpour, "Death Is the Answer," *A Girl Walks Home Alone at Night*, no. 1 (Los Angeles: Radco Comics, 2014); and "Who Am I," *A Girl Walks Home Alone at Night*, no. 2 (Los Angeles, Radco Comics, 2014).
  2. An allusion to Fisher, *The Weird and the Eerie* (London: Repeater Books, 2016).

section—and “Romantic love,” which here involves a loss of the self via Hegel, Schelling’s uncanny, and Žižek’s interpretation of the death drive. The conclusion is not mentioned in the introduction, but the author does tackle the “elephant in the room” about the film, which is that *A Girl* is simultaneously Iranian and not-Iranian; Amirpour is of Iranian decent whose family moved to the UK and then America though visits family still in Iran. This is an issue the author takes on and resolves quite neatly with the idea of “accent” that signifies an “outsider” who is not part of any host culture but has insider insight upon it. It is a good idea to use here to frame works in an age of increasing diasporic production and when cultural identity is more rhizomic than ever before. The introduction then concludes with a brief synopsis of the film.

The first chapter proper then begins by talking about the connection between the vampire and the birth of cinema, an already extensively established topic, and then the author opts to explain the spectral nature of “screen vampires” and specifically the one in *A Girl* via a new category they are theorising called *Unheimlich*. Ostensibly this is about films that use the tropes of the horror genre without actually being horror films. This is partly explained using Mark Fisher’s ideas of the “Weird” and the “Eerie” that involve the juxtaposition of unexpected objects (Weird) and the strangeness of uninhabited or unknown spaces (Eerie), which is useful when looking at *A Girl*, but one cannot help feeling that the ideas of the uncanny, the author uses are more obviously connected to the Gothic, and what the argument is actually proving is that *A Girl*, is a Gothic film rather than a true horror one. And in fact, after this description of the *Unheimlich* in the first section, its use later on is given the short-hand of “uncanny” which even more marks it as simply Gothic. The author’s wish to get away from the ubiquity and overuse of the Gothic in any vaguely “dark” narrative is understandable, but trying to create *Unheimlich* as sub-genre in itself feels a little unnecessary here.

What does not help is the vague definitions of “vampire genre,” “vampire cinema,” and “screen vampire” mentioned earlier, and more so as they are used almost interchangeably at times. The section opened describing “vampire cinema” and rightly cites Stacey Abbott’s *Celluloid Vampires* (2007) (19, 48n11), though unfortunately misses out Jeffrey Weinstock’s *The Vampire Film* (2012), and Ken Gelder’s *New Vampire Cinema* (2012), which makes it even more clear that although early vampire films shared certain phantasmagoric qualities—spectral elements that are intimately connected to the inherent nature (materiality) of early film itself—vampire cinema is actually a much larger topic, and indeed the vampire genre is much larger than that encompassing literature, games, comics, performance etc. With this the “screen vampire” is equally more than early black and white film that is strongly suggested in both Abbott and Weinstock. Kazemi, then uses the narrowest possible definition of vampire cinema going forward, which handily for the purposes of the book keeps the idea of phantasmagoria very close to hand and allows for a very tight range of vampire films to be mentioned in relation to *A Girl*, and *Nosferatu* in

particular.

This is unfortunate as there are a lot of later films that are directly related to *A Girl*, not least Michael Almereyder's *Nadja* (1994) and Abel Ferrara's *The Addiction* (1995) that both feature girls who walk home alone at night in the city, are also filmed in black and white, share an art-house sensibility that features in *A Girl*, and the female vampire in *Nadja* even wears a hooded-cloak as she floats around the city streets that bears an obvious relation, if largely visually, to the chador worn by The Girl.<sup>4</sup> It might be possible to excuse this omission as these connections have been made extensively elsewhere, but elements of it so obviously reinforce the theoretical frameworks used by the author in the book that it seems very strange. The rest of the first section is taken up with extremely interesting observations on the Iranian uncanny, Iranian film, the reception of *A Girl* in Iran, a theoretical/psychoanalytical description of Iranian nightmares and lastly notes on Iranian horror film and occult sciences. It should be noted that this last category also contains a problematic statement in relation to what is called the "cinematic vampire," which here is again equated to the very narrow view of vampire cinema where the author notes that the "cinematic vampire may be said to be the master of the [Islamicate] occult sciences." (47) This is a fun idea, but only two examples are offered, one in *Nosferatu* and the other in *A Girl*, and those are almost one hundred years apart, which makes such a claim extremely tenuous.

The second chapter is where the deep dive into the idea of the return of the repressed happens. After confirming the idea of horror film depicting the return of the repressed—though this is not without complications as *A Girl* has been categorized as *Unheimlich* in the previous section rather than horror, and the author does not suggest that these terms are interrelated at all—the opposing views of female sexuality in relation to this are brought to the fore and how they are manifested in the body, or fanged mouth, of the female vampire. This then moves to the death drive which, via Žižek, is actually choosing to live as one of the undead, rather than a desire for non-existence. This chapter ends with a consideration of Michel Chion's theory of "athorybos," which is extremely apt with the use of Farsi script on walls in certain important parts of the film. The addition of further Iranian perspective in this section adds to its overall strength and it is possibly the strongest one in the volume.

The final theoretical chapter is on German Idealism, and it is one that the author himself recognises as being a "wager" for including it (77). Here, phantasmagoria makes a reappearance and is connected to the idea of Romantic love filtered through Hegel, via Lacan, and Žižek and the scene in *A Girl* where The Girl meets Arash when he is dressed up as Dracula. This meeting is described (78–80), quoting Žižek, as exemplifying the "'miracle' of love" (80) that sees a complete loss of self that ultimately

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3. As these are American art-house films which is a sub-genre Amirpour knows very well, and she is a fan of David Lynch who makes a guest appearance in *Nadja*, it is highly likely she would have seen both films.

reveals the “Real.” As the exposition goes further, the “self” assumes the negativity of the Other, where love becomes a “*dying in the Other*” (88), quoting Byung Chul-han, and eroticism is the cliff edge before the endless aporia of death (non-existence). This, apparently, brings us full circle as the author has now connected German Idealism, psychoanalysis, and vampire cinema—though one suspects that there might be easier routes to connecting love, eroticism and death in the figure of the vampire that implicitly represents that in many, many narratives and films. However, this argument is not quite complete as Schelling’s explanation of the uncanny is required for it to reach its conclusion, or, apparently, back to where it started. Schelling’s idea is actually quite intriguing as for him the uncanny—and worth noting it is used in a very Gothic manner rather than the liminal manner that was explained as the *Unheimlich* previously—is the revealing of that which should have remained secret. This in fact speaks to the notion of becoming aware of the true nature of the world, and it is this that makes familiar objects seem uncanny, and which Freud then links to the idea of the return of the repressed. Schelling’s idea of the uncanny, is then noted as being inspired by his experience of watching a phantasmagoria, as was Hegel’s notion of the “Night of the World” mentioned previously in the section, which conveniently returns the argument back to the “origins of horror cinema” (92)—even though *A Girl* is not horror cinema but supposedly *Unheimlich* as was argued at length in the first section. In a final bringing together of ideas that, in short order, include *Nosferatu*, the occult, *A Girl*, and some Hegelian dialectics the section ends with a timeless closing statement of “the end is the beginning and in the beginning the end” (93). It is a breathless, and exhilarating last couple of pages, that oddly captures the poetic intent of much of the book, and like many such creative works places a lot of related ideas in close proximity so that together they might tell a meaningful, even individual, story to those that engage with it. The conclusion should then hopefully bring some order to the final thoughts on what has gone before.

The conclusion opens as a summarizing intake of breath of what has gone before which ends with overarching statement that the destiny of the vampire, night, and cinema are forever entangled. The author then quotes the director of *A Girl*, Ana Lily Amirpour when asked about the nature of the vampire to which she replies, “A vampire is so many things: serial killer, a romantic, a historian, a drug addict – they’re sort of all these things in one” (100) which for the first time in the book offers a wider reading of the film and the vampire in it, and which is followed by the equally novel mention of more recent vampire films such as Francis Ford Coppola’s *Bram Stoker’s Dracula* (1992), Catherine Hardwicke’s *Twilight* (2008)—only the first film in the series—Tomas Alfredson’s *Låt den rätte komma in* (*Let the Right One In*) (2008), and Jim Jarmusch’s *Only Lovers Left Alive* (2013), though only to return to the idea of Romantic love—*Let the Right One In* is a good choice here and the author uses it well for their argument. This is followed by a rumination on black and white cinematography and David Lynch—still no mention of *Nadja* or *The Addiction*—and

a mix of German Romanticism and Persian Mysticism before finally ending on the thought that the kind of coming together of disparate souls, beyond sex or erotic desire, seen at the denouement of *A Girl* (and *Let the Right One In*) offers a different kind of love to that of twenty-first century consumerism. It is certainly not the only possible reading of the final scene in *A Girl*, and it is not one that is very consistent with many aspects of the theoretical arguments made in the book, but it is an end.

As mentioned before, it is at times a breathless and exhilarating ride, that has occasional bumps in the road and assumptions that do not personally work for this reader. Subsequently, as a general volume about the film and its place within the vampire genre and vampire cinema it is possibly rather too focused, though one suspects that this wider placement was not the original intent of the volume in the first place. However, for anyone wanting to know more about the Iranian background to the film and possible connections and readings coming from that, this is an invaluable book—though a bit more about the Iranian music used in it would have made it even more essential. Consequently, it is a volume that should be quoted, and will be by this author in future works about *A Girl*.

SIMON BACON

*Independent scholar, Poland*

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Stasiewicz-Bieńkowska, Agnieszka. *Girls in Contemporary Vampire Fiction*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. Pp. xi + 277. €96,29 (eBook). ISBN 978-3-030-71744-5. PDF supplied by publisher for review.

Published as part of the Palgrave Gothic series (edited by Clive Bloom), *Girls in Contemporary Vampire Fiction* is an impressively well-researched, detailed study focused primarily on four different series by three authors: *House of Night* (2007–14) and *House of Night: Other World* (2017–20) by P. C. and Kristin Cast (a mother/daughter team); and *Vampire Academy* (2007–10) and *Bloodlines* (2011–15) by Richelle Mead. Other widely known franchises enter the discussion including *The Twilight Saga* and *The Vampire Diaries* (both novels and television series) and the

*Buffy the Vampire Slayer* television series (1997–2003).

Chapter 1, “Vampire Fiction, Girls and Shame: Introduction,” opens the book and it is followed by five more tightly-focused chapters and a conclusion. Broadly, “[t]his volume offers a critical analysis of the representations of girls and girlhood in the twenty-first century vampire fiction marketed to adolescent female readership” (5). The author has chosen the aforementioned series, in particular, because they offer some challenge to the status quo of young adult vampire fiction. More specifically, she sees the narratives as potentially radical as they present “girls as agents of social and political change” (5). Additionally, all four series feature female vampire characters and, thus, avoid the problematic (and better known) adult male vampire pursuing a teen female human trope.

The first chapter endeavors to do a great deal of heavy lifting to prepare the reader for what comes—beginning by summarizing contemporary thinking and assumptions about young adult (YA) fiction, in general, and YA vampire fiction, in particular. Stasiewicz-Bieńkowska then goes on to describe the various critical frameworks the remainder of the book will be using for analysis. The introduction further summarizes the state of girlhood in the contemporary western world. Other topics are briefly presented including the concept of serialization and YA dystopic novels. There is an almost overwhelming amount of information in this chapter, and, as happens elsewhere, the author’s voice and argument get lost. The front matter says the Palgrave Gothic series should be “readable by an intelligent student or knowledgeable general reader” ([iii]); this may be true for the remainder of the book, but, if such a reader were to start with chapter 1, it seems doubtful they would make it beyond. That said, there is a clear statement of the argument about the chosen texts: “these heroines come with the promise . . . of experimenting with alternative girl identities and expanding the possibilities of girlhood into previously untrodden terrains” (11). The introduction ends with a summary of the storylines of the chosen texts and a brief description of the chapters that follow.

Each chapter after the first is broken down into numbered, titled sections. Chapter 2 is “Writing (on) Girls’ Bodies: Vampires and Embodied Girlhood”; it has seven parts, including the conclusion. As with all the chapters, the author does not begin by articulating her own argument, but rather starts with cultural landscape on the subject under scrutiny—in this case, the girls’ often troubled relationships with appearance and the body and making a general statement about the chapter’s content such as “the relationships between young heroines and contemporary discourse on girls’ bodies, identities, forms of agency, belonging and exclusion” (25). Frustratingly, Stasiewicz-Bieńkowska’s own conclusions and thoughts are reserved for the concluding section of each chapter, so the reader is sometimes left to wonder why they are being presented with all this information.

This first, unnumbered section of the chapter ends by previewing the detailed close readings to come. 2.1 covers the changes being a vampire imposes on the girls’ bodies. Interestingly, both series feature tattoos worn by vampires that convey



cultural information. 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4 all focus on various elements of the beauty ideal; not surprisingly, all the heroines fall within it and only bad people are unattractive. 2.5 discusses the association of vampires with wealth, particularly with regard to clothing. 2.6 is probably the most interesting as it suggests that the makeover can be a “narrative of female subversion and rebellion” (58). The girl vampires in the texts use style as an indication of metamorphosis or an assertion of power.

The focus of the third chapter, “A Love so Strong it Aches: (Re-) Writing Vampire Romance,” is love and romance: It begins by exploring the change of vampire genre from the abject and horror to romance and relationships, especially among texts intended for a female audience. Using the four series under examination, this chapter “seeks to discover what it means to establish a romantic relationship ‘in the right way’” (79).

The chapter (3.1) begins with and a look at *House of Night* and polyandry. The authors created a matriarchal vampire world featuring a ruling goddess and a caste of priestesses who have high status. However, as it works out in the series, any attempts at polyandrous relationships become a source of pain and upset for the characters. Eventually, the lead character chooses a more traditional, hetero romantic relationship, so the radical re-imaging is rejected (the discussion of reader responses here is particularly fascinating). 3.2 discusses how the series also rejects the idea of the one true love, or romantic pre-destination. The following section, 3.3 carries on the discussion showing how in all the series the powerful male/fragile female stereotype is disrupted as the girls are powerful vampires who do not get their power or social position from their male partners. 3.4 moves on to discussing same-sex romance, of which there are very few overtly displayed; instead “homosexual undertones are often introduced by means of metaphor and left to be uncovered by audience and readers” (98). The conclusion offers that while these books offer audiences a myriad of configurations of ideal romantic relationships, within the same series, even sometimes within the same book, there are, thus, contradictory depictions of the ideal romantic love.

Logically, it follows that the next chapter, “Pangs of Please, Pangs of Guilt: Girls, Sexuality and Desire,” is on sexuality. The introductory section says that all four series have been commended by different groups and/or reviewers for “offering a positive depiction of adolescent sex and sexualities” (124). The first section (4.1) focuses on the state of virginity, while the second (4.2) on first time experiences. Generally, a single, physical act does not transform the characters from one state (girl) to another (woman), and their first experiences happen when the heroines choose. However, 4.3 goes on to demonstrate that highly sexual female characters (usually older women) are dangerous and with such character’s sex acts can be tied to pain, chaos and death. 4.3 covers the connections between sexuality and class. The conclusion is that, on the whole, the characters might recognize sexual inequalities but don’t challenge them, and that while sex acts can be rewarding, love and

commitment are foregrounded. The range of sources cited in this chapter is especially impressive and includes among them contemporary critics of YA like Kimberley Reynolds, Lydia Kokkila, Roberta Seelinger Trites, and French thinker Hélène Cixous.

Chapter 5, “Save Your Butt from Getting Raped: Girls, Vampires, and Violence,” opens with a review of the cultural tradition of eroticizing violence against young women and the most common rape myths (he just couldn’t help himself; deep down she wanted it) that will focus the following discussions. Stasiewicz-Bieńkowska clarifies: “while many threads in this chapter touch upon questions of romantic relationships and sexual desire, I choose to examine the narrative of violence against girls and women . . . as I aim to expose and accentuate the element of abuse rather than that of romance” (171). This chapter features more discussion of texts outside the four series that are the primary focus, including Charlene Harris’s Southern Vampire series, *Twilight*, and *The Vampire Diaries*. 5.1 uses these outside works (and others) to demonstrate how male-on-female violence can be normalized and goes on to search the focal YA series for points of resistance.

All sections of this chapter include more cultural context within the examinations of the stories, citing real-world statistics and studies throughout. 5.2 seems to be primarily a response to a pair of articles<sup>1</sup> that denounce Cast’s and Mead’s series for “failing to critically address the issues of rape and lack of female agency” (183). The author points out the shortcomings of these critiques as rape and consent are explored through multiple storylines in the series and further that the vampire communities are structured to foreground the importance of consent (often focused on the act of blood drinking). 5.3 covers rape revenge while 5.4 looks specifically at violence and self-defense.

In the conclusion (5.5), the ambiguous nature of the subject is made clear—while some story lines are empowering, others are problematic: “even within texts that clearly intend to advocate the empowered and empowering ideal of girlhood, the representations of gendered abuse are not unproblematic” (204) and that violence and sexual abuse are inseparable from the experience of growing up a girl.

Chapter 6, “Biting into Books: Supernatural Schoolgirls and Academic Performance,” feels misplaced or even superfluous. Vampire educational facilities are the newest Gothic setting, but the time and effort the characters put into their education is minimal, even as they declare their circumstances superior to human

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1. Gaïane Hanser, “Mary Sues, Sluts and Rapists: The Problematic Depiction of Sexuality in P. C. and Kristin Cast’s Young Adult Series *The House of Night*,” in “Teenage Cultures: From Consumption to Production,” ed. Heather Braun, Elisabeth Lamothe, and Delphine Latort. Special issue, *Publie: e-Revue de critique littéraire*, no. 1 (2018), <https://revues.univ-l-emans.fr/index.php/publie/article/view/41>; and Evie Kendal and Zachary Kendal, “Consent is Sexy: Gender, Sexual Identity and Sex Positivism in MTV’s Young Adult Television Series *Teen Wolf* (2011–),” *Colloquy: Text, Theory, Critique*, no. 30 (November 2015): 26–41, [https://www.monash.edu/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0007/1669498/kendal-30.pdf](https://www.monash.edu/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/1669498/kendal-30.pdf).

high schools (6.1). The following section (6.2) demonstrates that the series, for the most part, present STEM pursuits as unfeminine and uninteresting, and 6.3 gives evidence of general academic disengagement, through examples of undone homework, missed assignments, and few depictions of studying or academic success. 6.4 examines the tension between femininity and academia and how *House of Night*, in particular show males to be knowledgeable about a number of subjects (even those whose primary position is one of warrior) while females tend to succeed through intuition, piety, and empathy.

The book ends with a separate conclusion (odd, considering there was no separate introduction) that talks broadly about the power of narrative on readers and reinforces the many ways that pop culture and its analysis can offer information about a society. The author's final conclusion, that these series offer subversive potential for girl readers (who are not just passive receptors but active participants in making meaning) is underwhelming.

The sheer volume of research cited is astounding; the reference sections following each chapter are often over half a dozen pages and the sources cover a wide variety of areas of study and commentary; chapter 2, for instance, includes vampire studies, literary analysis, fat studies, girlhood culture, post-feminism, fandom, and media studies. There are footnotes rather than endnotes, and most stray thoughts a reader might have about connections are covered with suggestions and explanations immediately.

The analysis is limited to issues and narrative content rather than language or writing style, so, overall, the book is limited in that way. Another limitation is the emphasis on only four series that, evidently, are atypical of the genre, but in all fairness, the book never pretends otherwise. While chapter 1 is probably not accessible to the bright student or well-informed general reader, everything that follows probably is. Despite the over-generalized conclusion, Agnieszka Stasiewicz-Bieńkowska's book succeeds admirably in accomplishing what it has set it out to do, which is to close read the selected texts.

RHONDA BROCK-SERVAIS  
Longwood University, USA

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Titley, Daniel. *London after Midnight: The Lost Film*. N.p.: Keyreads, 2022. Pp. xvi + 429. £34.99 (paperback). ISBN 978-1-3999-4254-6. PDF supplied by publisher for review.

When it comes to monographs of vampire genre films dedicated to the production and legacy of a single film, the standard was set by Gary D. Rhodes' *Tod Browning's Dracula* (2014). That volume explored the pre-production, production and aftermath of the 1931 Universal production of *Dracula* and is the go-to volume for writing about the film. It is not hyperbole to say that Daniel Titley has written just such a monograph on Browning's lost film *London after Midnight*,<sup>1</sup> released to the world in 1927. The substantive difference, of course, being the difficulty of describing the detail of a film now impossible to view.

Nevertheless, Titley has clearly performed a magnificent piece of detective work and the first chapter of the book, "Century Gothic," examines the background to the film's production and the production thereof. Within the chapter there is the interesting supposition that the central vampiric character, Man in the Beaver Hat (played by Lon Chaney), was based on Count Dracula and that the film amounted to Browning and Chaney's attempt to make an unauthorised version of Stoker's 1897 novel (21). The argument has a certain charm and does recognise that, whilst there may have been inspiration, there is a substantive difference in that *London after Midnight* is a vampireless vampire film, the Man in the Beaver Hat being a ruse and disguise donned to help uncover a murder.

Titley then, in the chapter "Mark of the Critics," looks at its release and the reaction to it. The author has filled the book with illustrations, be it stills, facsimiles of documents and newspaper clippings and contemporary artwork, in colour and black and white as appropriate. This chapter, therefore, contains advertisements, programmes and reviews reproduced for the reader, adding much to the value of the volume.

The next chapter, "Scared to Death," explores a strange and macabre legacy of the film, when murderer Robert Williams used the film as an alibi, following trial, claiming to have seen (or hallucinated) the Man in the Beaver Hat having watched the film the day before the murder (157). The film itself was mentioned in *Our Movie Made Children*, a 1933 volume by Henry James Forman that sought to tie movies into the (criminal and antisocial) behaviour of children<sup>2</sup> (159) highlighting, of course, that scapegoating of films (as well as other media) for societal problems is not a new phenomenon.

"Ashes to Ashes," the next chapter, looks at how the last known copy of the film was destroyed in a fire in 1965. It explores how silent films, and their nitrate film,

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1. Not surprising then that the author acknowledges the "guidance, encouragement and editing of this book" which Rhodes provided (421).
  2. Forman's mention was derived from Herbert Blumer and Philip M. Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency, and Crime* (New York: Macmillan, 1933), 119–20.—Ed.

were not stored with particular care for some time, indeed often they were destroyed when not profitable. This chapter leads into further ones about unearthed Chaney films, excerpts and frames—with a chapter dedicated to frames discovered from *London after Midnight* (and reproductions thereof). The book then logically moves into the reproductions of the film that have been constructed using scripts and stills/frames. And then, *The Lost Script*, covers the discovery of the “‘first temporary complete’ draft script of ‘The Hypnotist’”<sup>3</sup> (263) and reproduces that script in facsimile (265–340) as well as the submitted continuity treatment contemporary to the second script draft (345–60). Following this, the book includes an English translation of the Spanish novelisation of the film, *La casa del horror* (The house of horror) (368–90), and then a translation of a 1936 French dramatization entitled *Un drame à Bryhood* (A drama in Bryhood) (398–411). Where the script, continuity treatment and Spanish novelisation may help our understanding of what the text of the film may have been, this last document does not. It is clear that the dramatization was a pulp fiction invented and inspired by some film stills without referencing or simulating the original story. Nevertheless, it is an interesting read if only for being part of the film’s legacy.

This is a well-researched and entertaining labour of love.<sup>4</sup> The sheer volume of illustrations and facsimiles make it worthwhile and the exploration of the production, the fate of early cinema and nitrate film, and the exploration of some of the detective work that has unearthed artifacts from the film makes this a volume valuable to the general student of cinema as well as the vampire genre fan. Essential.

ANDREW M. BOYLAN

*Vampire Studies Association, Australia/UK*

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3. *The Hypnotist* being the original working title of the film.

4. Titley got the book crowdfunded under its working title, *London after Midnight: Lost & Found*. Daniel Titley, “London after Midnight \*\*NEW BOOK\*\*,” Indiegogo, accessed August 1, 2023, <https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/london-after-midnight-new-book#>. Keyreads is his imprint.—Ed.

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# Annual Bibliography for 2022

ANTHONY HOGG

*Vampire Studies Association, Australia*

The annual bibliography of the *Journal of Vampire Studies* aims to be a comprehensive compilation of vampire scholarship published in books, book chapters, special journal issues, journal articles, book reviews, dissertations and theses, and other scholarly material published in various languages, the year before. Reprints are not included, new editions and translations are.

Where resource titles are ambiguous about their vampire content, I have added a brief annotation. Weblinks included if the work is only (or was originally) available online. Titles of non-English works include an English language title adopted from Google Translate. Examples accompanied by an asterisk (\*) indicate translated titles included in the original publications. Dates included in brackets refer to the true publication year versus copyright date.

- Amador, Victoria. "Care for a Bite? Vampire-Inspired Cookbooks." In Bacon, *Spoofing the Vampire*, 73–87.
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# Appendix

## Thoughts on Vampirology and Vampire Studies

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following document of the same name was compiled by Anthony Hogg on April 2, 2017. The section before the addendum was written on a blank A4 sheet at Tasty Pizza & Kebab, Melbourne. Hogg was passing the time reading articles about Buffy studies before his shift that day as a casual Library Officer at Victoria University's City Flinder campus library. He realised that frameworks utilised for Buffy studies could also apply to vampire studies so hurriedly jotted down his thoughts.

During the shift, he scanned and transcribed the sheet into a Microsoft Word document and typed in the addendum. It represents his formative views on vampire studies before he founded the Vampire Studies Association on October 31, 2018; "to establish vampire studies as a multidisciplinary field by promoting, disseminating and publishing contributions to vampire scholarship" (Vampire Studies Association, Association Rules, October 31, 2018, r. 4.1[i]). This appendix item (including bracketed notes, footnotes, strikethrough text and asterism) reproduces the Word document's contents, sans date, transcript heading, scan, and scan caption.

Since writing the piece, the Whedon Studies Association was renamed Association for the Study of Buffy+ in 2022 after misconduct allegations arose against Joss Whedon (1964–), the group's figurehead. The association still publishes *Slayage*.

Vampire studies is a multidisciplinary framework collating academic vampire works by various academic disciplines. Philosophy, media studies, literary criticism, folklore, history, psychology, etc. Any bibliography work in this regard would showcase the breadth, diversity and complexity of studies devoted to vampires. An association's purpose would be to bring awareness to, highlight and promote the reach of the vampire's aborbtion [sic] into popular consciousness. In a sense, it is a subject authority, a union intended to unite writings and scholars and further refine them into a single field of study: vampirology.

Here's what cracked it open for me: "*Buffy Studies* is a subset of the academic field of cultural studies."<sup>1</sup> It got me thinking of all the subsets presented in the Whedon Studies Association's bibliography resources—one of them is vampirology. That's what's been sticking in my craw—how is vampire studies different from vampirology? My answer is that vampire studies isn't necessarily a discipline; it's a catalogue. A multidisciplinary catalogue. Vampirology is essentially pooling these disciplines into a unified field. That's where you'd get university majors and whatnot. So vampire studies is analogous [sic] to a bibliographic accumulation of knowledge, like the 10 Dewey classes. That also means that vampire studies, any unified body representing it, is essentially rounding up all the studies, all the disciplines, all the scholars, all the fans, and pooling them together as a resource—to distill [sic] their collective knowledge, passions and literature and to give alchemical birth to vampirology.

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1. "Buffy Studies," Buffyverse Wikia, [n.d.], accessed April 2, 2017, [http://buffy.wikia.com/wiki/Buffy\\_studies](http://buffy.wikia.com/wiki/Buffy_studies).



Vampire studies ~~are fuelled by~~ are populated by fly-by-nighters; people who treat the topic fleetingly, even if their work is significant. Although their contributions are valuable, their presence in the field tends to be short-lived. Vampirology is for those who stay behind. Vampire studies is broad, vampirology is narrow.

[David] Lavery still continues to inspire me. His “Buffy Studies by Discipline/Method/Approach” for *The Encyclopedia of Buffy Studies*, co-edited with Rhonda V. Wilcox,<sup>2</sup> provides the basic framework. The page, in turn, was inspired by Derik A. Badman’s “Academic Buffy Bibliography.”<sup>3</sup> Someone else who was inspired by the encyclopedia and Badman’s article: Alys Hornick. She had a page called “Welcome to My Buffy Studies Bibliography!”<sup>4</sup> She also used the term “Buffyology.” And guess what? She’s a librarian—works as the Offsite Preparations Supervisor at New York University’s Elmer Holmes Bobst Library.<sup>5</sup>

### Addendum

The citation used for Badman’s article is slightly abbreviated. On the site used to host past issues of *Slayage*, The Whedon Studies Association, the issue is listed as “*Slayage* 2.3 [7], December 2002.” The 2 likely represented volume and the 3 likely represents issue—but I have no idea what the 7 represents. I emailed the journal’s editor, Rhonda V. Wilcox, for further clarity.

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Alys Hornick is listed as the co-author of J. Gordon Melton’s *The Vampire in Folklore, History, Literature, Film and Television: A Comprehensive Bibliography* (2015). The reason she’s given this credit is because a substantial amount of her Buffy bibliography was used in the book, as I recall Melton mentioning during me and Erin Chapman’s visit to his place on November 1, 2015, not that she actively contributed to the rest of the book.

Interestingly, the introduction from her defunct website is virtually identical to the one found on Lavery’s encyclopedia entry. I credit to him, because he is listed as the person to contact for adding comments or corrections to the list. Was she the original author? And why would Melton give her credit over Lavery? Hard to say, but

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2. “Buffy Studies by Discipline/Method/Approach,” *The Encyclopedia of Buffy Studies*, ed. David Lavery and Rhonda V. Wilcox, n.d., accessed April 2, 2017, [http://offline.buffy.de/outline.php?module=/webserver/offline/www.slayage.tv/EBS/buffy\\_studies/buffy\\_studies\\_by\\_discipline.htm](http://offline.buffy.de/outline.php?module=/webserver/offline/www.slayage.tv/EBS/buffy_studies/buffy_studies_by_discipline.htm). This is a hosted version of the page; [www.slayage.tv](http://www.slayage.tv) is defunct.
  3. “It is greatly indebted to Derik Badman’s Academic Buffy Bibliography.” Ibid. Badman’s article was published in *Slayage* 2, no. 3 (December 2002).
  4. Alys Hornick, “Welcome to My Buffy Studies Bibliography!”, Buffyology, last updated May 19, 2006, accessed April 2, 2017, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060523184941/http://www.alysa316.com/Buffyology>.
  5. “Alys Hornick,” NYU Libraries, n.d., accessed April 2, 2017, <http://library.nyu.edu/people/alysa-hornick/>.

Hornick did credit the encyclopedia:

This bibliography is greatly indebted to Derik Badman's Academic Buffy Bibliography (2002), and seeks to pick up and expand upon his work. It is also greatly indebted to the Encyclopedia of Buffy Studies by discipline available at the incomparably wonderful Slayage: the Online International Journal of Buffy Studies.<sup>6</sup>

What's throwing me off is the similarity between the introductory paragraphs. I will contact Hornick for further clarity. I'm also keen to know whether or not she makes a distinction between Buffy Studies or Buffyology, herself. I'll ask her about that, too.

ANTHONY HOGG

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6. Hornick, "Welcome to My Buffy Studies Bibliography!"

# Appendix

## Format Possibilities for the *Journal of Vampire Studies*

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following document reprints the diary of the same name; a Microsoft Word file by Anthony Hogg, editor of *Journal of Vampire Studies*, created specifically to hash out an "identity crisis" over the journal's format. Veering between learned society journals, trade journals and the inclusion of annual reports, the diary is an insight into the creative process involved in developing a journal.

Throughout the diary, Hogg has "discussions" with DeepAI's AI Chat in order to help formulate journal content. After previously dabbling with AI bots, he realised their potential for creating outlines after attending "A Beginner's Journey Towards Artificial Intelligence (AI)," a talk given by Bron Eager at ASPIRE Conference 2023, Caulfield Racecourse, on August 25, 2023. The chatbot responses have been reproduced with kind permission from DeepAI's support team.

*Thursday, 5 October 2023*

I'm about two months shy of publishing the journal's latest issue and I'm having an editorial identity crisis. After agreeing to publish a single issue each year instead of two, I'm at a crossroads of what I want the journal to *be*.

In the journal's first issue, I said "JVS aims to be the field's flagship periodical by providing a central platform for exclusive research findings, critical analysis, discussion and debate, covering all areas of vampire studies. In this context, *JVS* has more common with standard academic journals than the pioneering fanzine-style publications that preceded it. It is hoped that the journal will cultivate a network of correspondents who will refine and consolidate the nascent field of vampire studies. *JVS* will eventually have the functionality of a trade journal, especially beneficial to undergraduates, postgraduates, lecturers, scholars, researchers, publishers and conference organisers."<sup>1</sup>

In the most recent issue, I also alluded to my intent to incorporate the association's annual report into the journal.<sup>2</sup> With the move to annual format, that's what I've been wanting to do—especially as this year marks the fifth anniversary of the association's founding (I am meant to schedule an AGM for it shortly). Yet, I'm kind of stuck.

After going to the trouble of recruiting *a ton* of people for the journal's advisory board (initially intending to specifically focus on people who teach vampire courses), not to mention tinkering around with some journal designs today, and having being inspired by the August–September 2023 issue of *Campus Review*, and Googling examples of trade journals for inspiration (most notably the Harvard Business Review

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1. Hogg, "Introduction to the *Journal of Vampire Studies*," editorial, *Journal of Vampire Studies* 1, no. 1 (2020): 1.
  2. Hogg, "Reasons This Issue Was Delayed," editorial, *Journal of Vampire Studies* 2, no. 2 (2022): 143–44.

cover layout in a blog post I found),<sup>3</sup> I'm no longer entirely sure what I want the journal to be.

I like the idea of a trade journal, but that isn't suited to annual publication as it tends to bank on currency. Yet, it's the "trade" I am aiming the journal at—vampire educators and scholars.

I also like the idea of the journal not only incorporating an annual report, but *being* one. As I have recently been doing a lot of reading on annual reports and really appreciating that an annual report is basically a metric by which an organisation measures its success, the notion of making the journal itself a functional annual report—a mission-driven publication to achieve its goals, publicise vampire scholarship, get news coverage, etc.—then it would also operate as an actual journal in the personal sense; a document of activities. But what timeframe is it supposed to cover if it's only published toward the end of the year. Would it be a yearbook? A freeze-frame of the traditional Australian financial year (as per the "year" our association measures). I don't know.

I have also considered separate publications. The trade journal could retain the *JVS* moniker or it could become *Vampire Studies Review* or *Vampire Studies Journal* or somesuch, whereas the journal "proper" (at least, the current one) could become an association-specific publication, i.e. the *Journal of the Vampire Studies Association*.

I have been "chatting" with DeepAI's AI Chat (<https://deepai.org/chat>) about these matters *a lot*. Here are a few examples of chats I had with it today to explore these different ideas and formats.

ANTHONY HOGG. I would like to create a trade journal for vampire educators and researchers. Could you create a table of contents for it?

AI CHAT. A: Sure, here's a possible table of contents for a trade journal for vampire educators and researchers:

1. Introduction: Welcome to the Vampire Educator and Researcher Journal
2. News and Updates: Latest developments in the field of vampire studies
3. Feature Article: In-depth exploration of a specific aspect of vampire lore or culture
4. Case Studies: Analysis of real or fictional vampires, their characteristics, behavior, and impact on society
5. Interview: Q&A with a prominent vampire expert or researcher
6. Book Review: Assessment of a recent book on vampire-related topics
7. Conference Reports: Overview of conferences, seminars, and symposiums related to vampire studies
8. Field Notes: Reports from the field, including personal experiences, fieldwork, and observations of vampire communities around the world
9. Teaching and Pedagogy: Best practices, strategies, and techniques for teaching vampire studies to different audiences
10. Resources and Bibliography: A list of resources, books, articles, websites, and

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3. "Harvard Business Review Goes All-in On AR," AREA Blog, AREA (Augmented Reality for Enterprise Alliance), November 17, 2017, <https://thearea.org/harvard-business-review-goes-ar/>.

other materials for researchers and educators in the field of vampire studies

11. Closing Remarks: Concluding thoughts and upcoming topics for the next issue.

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ANTHONY HOGG. I would like to create an academic journal for vampire educators and researchers. Could you create a table of contents for it?

AI CHAT. Certainly, here's a possible table of contents for an academic journal for vampire educators and researchers:

1. Editorial: Introduction to the journal and key themes of the current issue
2. Research Articles: Original research articles on various topics related to vampire studies, such as literature, film, anthropology, folklore, sociology, history, psychology, or biology. These should have a clear methodology, literature review, results, and conclusion.
3. Review Articles: Critical reviews of current research topics related to vampire studies, illustrating advances and limitations of recent research. These should include a comprehensive and balanced review of the literature.
4. Book Review: Reviews of recently published books on vampire-related topics, providing an evaluation of the content, relevance, and contribution of each publication.
5. Interviews: Conversations with prominent scholars or practitioners in the field of vampire studies, discussing their research, insights, and vision for the future of the field.
6. Perspectives: Personal views or opinions on current or future issues related to vampire studies, such as ethics, methodology, teaching, or interdisciplinary approaches.
7. Teaching and Learning: Articles on pedagogy, curriculum design, and educational practices for teaching and learning about vampire studies in various educational settings, such as high school, college, or lifelong learning.
8. Conference Reports: Summaries of relevant vampire-related symposia, conferences, or workshops, highlighting the substance and implications of each event.
9. Resources and Announcements: Announcements of relevant conferences, speakers, job openings, funding opportunities, and academic resources in the field of vampire studies.
10. Conclusion: Summary of the key themes and advances in the current issue, highlighting future directions for scholarship in vampire studies.

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ANTHONY HOGG. I would like to create a journal for a vampire studies association. What would its contents be?

AI CHAT. As an AI language model, I can suggest the following contents for your vampire studies association journal (the list is not exhaustive, and you are free to add or remove content based on your preferences):

1. Editor's note: A welcome note from the editor of the journal.
2. Research articles: The main focus of the journal would be to publish research articles on various aspects of vampires, such as their myths, legends, historical accounts, literary and cinematic portrayals, social and cultural implications, and scientific explanations.
3. Interviews and profiles: The journal can feature interviews with scholars, authors, filmmakers, and other experts who have contributed significantly to the field of vampire studies. You can also publish profiles of influential individuals who have

influenced the discourse on vampires.

4. Book reviews: The journal can contain critical reviews of the latest books, articles, and other publications related to vampire studies.

5. Conference reports: You can include summaries of the latest academic conferences, seminars, and symposia related to vampire studies.

6. Visual arts: You can feature illustrations, paintings, photographs, and other visual arts that evoke the themes and motifs of vampires.

7. Creative writing: The journal can include fictional stories, poetry, and other creative works that explore the themes of vampirism.

8. Letters to the editor: You can invite readers to send in their comments, feedback, and queries, and publish selected letters in the journal.

9. News and updates: You can feature news and updates related to the vampire community, including new books, movies, TV shows, games, merchandise, and events.

10. Resources and references: Lastly, you can provide a section that lists useful resources and references for further reading and research, such as academic journals, websites, blogs, and online communities related to vampire studies.

Regarding the “News and Updates” sections suggested, the distinction between that in a trade journal and an association journal, to me, is that the former would be focused on general things in the field, whereas the latter would concentrate on things specifically related to the association. Indeed, it could even cover press coverage received, citations, etc. Adrien Party’s award for his book, *Vampiropologie*, also sticks in my mind, as he’s an actual member.

While “chatting” with the bot, though, I also got to thinking about proceedings.

ANTHONY HOGG. What are proceedings from an association?

AI CHAT. Proceedings from an association typically refer to the formal record of the discussions, presentations, and decisions made at an event or meeting organized by the association. Proceedings can take several forms, such as a minutes document, which summarizes the discussions and decisions made at the meeting, a transcript, which provides a verbatim account of what was said, or a report, which summarizes the key findings and outcomes of the event.

Proceedings can serve various purposes depending on the nature of the association. For example, scientific associations often publish proceedings of their annual conferences, which include papers presented at the conference, as well as summaries of the discussions and debates that took place. Similarly, professional associations may publish proceedings of their annual meetings, which include reports from various committees, election results, and other association-related announcements.

Proceedings can be an essential tool for capturing the insights, experiences, and ideas shared at an association’s event, and can be used to disseminate knowledge and understanding to a broader audience beyond the event. They can also be a valuable resource for members of the association who were unable to attend the event, or for individuals who are interested in learning more about the association’s activities and achievements.

Rather than include a specific “annual reports” section, as I’ve been intending, it could have a “proceedings” section as the *Journal of Roman Studies* and *Journal of Hellenic Studies* does. In fact, I was starting to think of turning it into the *Proceedings of the Vampire Studies Association*, but that’s probably taking it a step too far at this stage.

As an added note, I'm even thinking of not publishing it annually, but slipping back into two issues per year (but just shorter contents) to both get the current articles I'm editing out in time, but to also tilt toward the trade journal concept I've been exploring. In fact, I recently incorporated a section for organisations as part of a "resources" section (which I've been meaning to add as a tab to the VSA website) based on previous suggestions from AI Chat. It does sound like I'm steering more into the trade journal path, but I haven't given up on the association-specific concept either. This tussle will continue.

*Friday, 6 October 2023*

No matter how much I tinker with the structure of a hybrid journal/annual report, it keeps filling like putting a round peg in a square hole. I'm struggling to seamlessly integrate them. More and more, it seems like the report should be a separate publication or the scope of the journal would have to significantly narrow to one about itself. Here is one example from one of my "chats" with AI Chat today:

I. Cover Page and Executive Summary

- Cover Page
- Executive Summary

II. Editor's Note

- Introduction by the Editor

III. Reports from the Board or Executive Committee

- President's Report
- Treasurer's Report
- Secretary's Report
- Other Board/Committee Reports

IV. Financial Information

- Audited Financial Statements
- Balance Sheet
- Income Statement
- Cash Flow Statement
- Financial Highlights and Summary

V. Features Articles

- Feature articles related to the organization's mission and activities
- Scholarship Opportunities from the organization
- Calls for Papers or Submissions

VI. Membership or Volunteer Profiles/Testimonials

- Member and Volunteer Profiles
- Testimonials

VII. Future Outlook

- Future Outlook and Plans for the organization

## VIII. Academic articles:

Here is where you would include the academic articles.

## IX. Back Cover

This table of contents has some flexibility and can vary depending on the needs of your organization. But, it covers the essential elements of a comprehensive annual report while still serving as an academic journal.

*Monday, 16 October 2023*

I am caught between the trade journal and society-specific journal again. *Journal of Vampire Studies* or *Journal of the Vampire Studies Association*; the latter concept would function as the association's annual report.

The thing holding me back from the trade journal concept is timeliness and resource capability. Here's another one of the "chats" I had with AI Chat again today, to give a taste of what's going through my mind:

ANTHONY HOGG. Hi. I run a small not-for-profit association. I would like to create a journal for it. I would like the journal to function as a trade journal/annual report. Can you provide a table of contents for this hypothetical journal/

AI CHAT: annual report?

Sure, here's a possible table of contents for your trade journal/annual report:

1. Introduction and Mission Statement
  - Overview of the association's purpose and goals
  - Highlights of the past year's accomplishments
2. Industry News and Trends
  - Analysis of the current state of the industry
  - Insights and predictions from leading experts
3. Member Profiles and Success Stories
  - Features on key association members and their achievements
  - Case studies of successful projects and initiatives
4. Legislative and Regulatory Updates
  - Updates on relevant laws and regulations affecting the industry
  - Advocacy efforts by the association and its members
5. Financial Reports and Budget Analysis
  - Overview of the association's income and expenses for the year
  - Breakdown of how funds were allocated and used
6. Events and Conferences Recap
  - Recap of the association's events and conferences
  - Photos and highlights from key moments



7. Board and Committee Reports

- Reports from the association's board and key committees
- Updates on ongoing projects and initiatives

8. Call to Action and Future Plans

- Call to action for members to get involved in upcoming initiatives
- Preview of the association's plans and goals for the next year

9. Conclusion and Acknowledgments

- Final thoughts on the year's accomplishments and challenges
- Acknowledgments of key contributors and supporters.

AH. Hi. I would like to create a trade journal for vampire studies. Could you provide a table of contents for this hypothetical journal?

AIC. Sure, here's a possible table of contents for a trade journal on vampire studies:

1. Editorial and Introduction

- Welcome message from the editor
- Overview of the topics covered in the journal

2. Research Articles

- Scholarly articles on various aspects of vampire studies, including mythology, cultural history, literature, and media

3. Book Reviews

- Reviews of new and classic books on vampires and related topics
- Analysis of the importance and relevance of each book to the field

4. Interviews and Profiles

- Interviews with prominent scholars and researchers in the field
- Profiles of individuals and organizations that are advancing the field of vampire studies

5. Historical and Cultural Context

- Articles on the history and cultural context of vampire myths and legends
- Discussions on how vampire stories have influenced popular culture and vice versa

6. Contemporary Issues and Trends

- Analysis of current trends in the field of vampire studies
- Discussion of the most pressing and topical issues within the field

7. Teaching and Learning Tools

- Pedagogical articles on how to teach vampire studies in academic settings
- Articles on other valuable tools for students and scholars

8. Conference and Event Reports

- Reports on the latest conferences, workshops, and other events in the vampire studies field
- Discussion of upcoming events that may be of interest to readers

9. Voices from the Field

- Opinion pieces and contributions from members of the vampire studies community

- Personal narratives of experiences and perspectives in the field

#### 10. Conclusion and Acknowledgments

- Final thoughts from the editor
- Acknowledgments of contributors, sponsors, and supporters of the journal.

There is something to the fusion of both concepts. I have a copy of *Ecolibrium*, the official journal of the Australian Institute of Refrigeration, Air Conditioning and Heating (AIRAH), December 2019/January 2020, sitting right next to me as I write this. This particular issue incorporates both elements. It even includes the AIRAH's strategic plan for 2020–2021.

*Wednesday, 18 October 2023*

What if the journal was an annual report of itself? That is, it has its own internal report and also functions as its own annual report? It could include financial statements covering expenses and income it has incurred, objectives for itself (several of which I laid out in the most recent issue's editorial).<sup>4</sup> Rather than a president's report, it could have an editor's report, etc. Functionally (and technically), it would be the official journal/annual report of the *Journal of Vampire Studies*' Editorial Board.

In terms of incorporating annual reports into the current manifestation of the journal, I'm not sure I'll have the time to. Too much work. Too much uncertainty about how to format things. On top of everything, I've got the upcoming VSA AGM to plan for. Maybe all this uncertainty was a blessing in disguise; a way I can really knuckle down and figure out what this thing's supposed to be.

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On a lighter note, I'm glad Deep AI have given me permission to reproduce my "chats" with AI Chat. I emailed them last night requesting it and they got back to me today. Definitely something I'm going to keep tinkering with as I work this thing out.

In fact, here's how I tried to article that with AI Chat and its response:

ANTHONY HOGG. I would like to create a journal that functions as an annual report of itself; it's [sic] own efforts, goals, achievements, etc. Like an annual report for an association, but of the journal itself. Can you provide a table of contents for that hypothetical journal?

AI CHAT. Sure, here's a possible outline or table of contents for an annual report-style journal:

#### 1. Introduction and overview

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4. Hogg, "Changes and Goals for the Journal," editorial, *Journal of Vampire Studies* 2, no. 2 (2022): 141–43.

- \* Welcome letter from editors or publishers
  - \* Summary of the journal's mission and goals
  - \* Brief highlights of the year's achievements
2. Editorial and publishing updates
    - \* Overview of the journal's publishing schedule and content format
    - \* Review of editorial policies and guidelines
    - \* Description of the peer review process
    - \* Details on any new policies or procedures implemented during the year
  3. Author and article data
    - \* Number and types of submissions received during the year
    - \* Peer review statistics (e.g., acceptance rates, time to review)
    - \* Description of any new types of content or sections added
    - \* Overview of the topics or disciplines covered by the journal over the year
  4. Marketing and outreach efforts
    - \* Overview of the journal's marketing strategy and channels used
    - \* Summary of any new partnerships or collaborations established
    - \* Details on the journal's online presence (e.g., website traffic, social media engagement)
    - \* Description of any events or conferences attended or organized by the journal
  5. Financial and Administrative information
    - \* Summary of expenditures within the year including article processing charges
    - \* Funding bodies, Grants obtained by journal (if any)
    - \* List of the board members, Editors and Administrative staff
  6. Conclusion
    - \* Recap of the journal's achievements and areas of improvement
    - \* Invitation to submit articles or participate in the journal's operations
    - \* Closing remarks by the Editor-in-Chief.

This outline should give you an idea of the types of information that could be included in the journal's annual report. You can adjust the content according to the goals and achievements of your particular journal.

Looking at that, I'm not so sure now. Where do articles and book reviews go? How do they fit in? Unless the elements mentioned were condensed into a single report, i.e. the proposed editor's report, which would replace the current Editorial section. Here's another crack at the idea I just had:

Anthony Hogg. I would like to create a scholarly journal that fulfils its publisher's goal: to publish and promote vampire scholarship. The journal's format, itself, will function like an annual report. Can you provide a table of contents for this hypothetical journal, please?

AI Chat. Certainly! Here's a possible outline or table of contents for a scholarly journal focused on vampire scholarship, with the format of an annual report:

1. Introduction and Overview
  - \* Welcome letter from the editor-in-chief

- \* Brief history of the journal and its mission
- \* Summary of the major themes and topics covered in the current issue

## 2. Scholarly Articles

- \* Peer-reviewed research articles on various aspects of vampire studies
- \* Articles discussing vampires in literature, film, television, and popular culture
- \* Articles examining the cultural, social, and historical context of vampire mythology and folklore

## 3. Special Features

- \* Interview with a notable scholar working in the field of vampire studies
- \* Book reviews of recent works on vampire scholarship
- \* Roundtable discussion on a current topic in vampire studies
- \* Examinations of classic vampire stories and works under a current understanding of the phenomenon

## 4. Conference Reports

- \* Summary and reports from recent vampire or horror-related academic conferences
- \* Highlights from recent workshops or sessions related to vampire studies

## 5. Collaborative Works

- \* Poetry, short stories or other creative works inspired by vampire themes or critiquing the social norms surrounding vampire mythology
- \* Artistic responses to text or adapted material

## 6. Financial Details and Editorial Updates

- \* Overview of the financial state of the journal within the year, including article processing charges and circulation fees
- \* Update on editorial policies and guidelines
- \* New author procedures and upcoming conferences

## 7. Conclusion

- \* Recap of the journal's achievements in the field of vampire scholarship
- \* Invitation to submit research articles or participate within the editorial board
- \* Closing remarks by the editor-in-chief

This table of contents is meant to illustrate the types of scholarship and features that might be included in a scholarly journal focused on vampire studies. You can adapt the outline according to the specific goals and themes of your journal.

I can see how the “Conclusion” section might be something like a round up of press coverage, citations and reviews. The invitation, of course, would basically be a call for papers. There’s *something* to this, just got to work out what. At most, I’m thinking of a hybrid trade journal/annual report/association journal. Too much?

*Thursday, 19 October 2023*

By “association” journal, I guess I mean a learned society journal or a club journal usually associated with literary subject areas; the obvious examples are *Keats-Shelley Journal*, *Byron Journal*, etc. There’s an interesting definition of these sorts of

publications in the Academy for Distance Learning blog:

Learned societies and professional associations are like medieval guilds, in that they are non-profit organisations intended to raise standards and help their members. For some modern professions, membership even continues to be mandatory! For example, most top accountancy positions are only available to chartered accountants who have studied accountancy and are members of one of the professional associations. There are some professions where membership of a professional society is optional but starting to become compulsory now. For example, university lecturers in the UK are often expected to work towards becoming fellows of the Higher Education Academy.

The difference between learned societies and professional associations is that learned societies are subject-specific and professional associations are profession-specific. The Modern Language Association is open to anyone in any job who is involved with the study of modern languages. The Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors is just for surveyors, but they might be interested in surveying completely different kinds of land or structure.<sup>5</sup>

That is along the lines of something I wrote in the first issue of the journal, my vision of what I wanted the journal to be.

Now, the “professional” aspect mentioned here touches directly on a demographic I’ve wanted to target, in particular, since late 2021: vampire educators. In what other context is vampire studies a profession? When it’s taught. So maybe we are talking about another hybrid here; a learned society/professional association journal. Perhaps I am walking toward a crossroad of elitism and egalitarianism; is the journal intended to have a narrow scope, or is it a publication for a general readership. Its fundamental point, to me, is to *establish* and *refine* the field. Even to define it. Something’s gotta give.

Maybe by aiming too broadly, I’ve missed the point of what I’m supposed to do. Not been focused enough. Not had a clear enough demographic in mind. That said, I don’t want it to be a jargon-filled mess, either. I *want* anyone interested in vampire scholarship to be able to read it. Decisions, decisions.

Further on the Academy for Distance Learning blog, though, the author wrote it after becoming a member of the Linnean Society of London. The society publishes a few journals (*Biological Journal of the Linnean Society*, *Botanical Journal of the Linnean Society*, *Evolutionary Journal of the Linnean Society*, and *Zoological Journal of the Linnean Society*) and a members magazine called *The Linnean*. That magazine is subtitled “Newsletter and Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London.” Maybe *that* could be the angle here; a members’ publication *and* a journal.

Then again, the members mag would pretty much be an annual report anyway, and lo, we come full circle.

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5. “What Are Learned Societies and Professional Associations?,” Blog, Academy for Distance Learning, [January 10, 2018], <https://adlonlinecourses.com/what-are-learned-societies-and-professional-associations/>.

Nonetheless, I decided to give the ideas a whirl with AI Chat and here's what we came up with:

ANTHONY HOGG. I would like to create a learned society newsletter. What should its table of contents be?

AI CHAT. As an artificial intelligence language model, I do not have personal preferences or perspectives, but here are some potential suggestions based on common practices in academic or learned society newsletters:

1. Editorial Introduction
2. Society News and Updates
3. Featured Articles or Research Highlights
4. Upcoming Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops
5. Calls for Submissions or Proposals
6. Reviews of Recent Publications or Media
7. Career Development and Funding Opportunities
8. Student and Early Career Researcher Highlights or Spotlights
9. Special Announcements or Events
10. Contact Information and How to Get Involved.

AH. I would also like to create a journal for that society, too. What should its contents be?

AIC. Here are some typical sections that can be included in a scholarly journal of a learned society:

1. Editorial Introduction: A brief welcome message from the editor(s), outlining the main themes and objectives of the issue or volume.
2. Original Research Articles: Peer-reviewed, original research articles that present new empirical findings or theoretical insights in the field of interest. These articles should have a clear research question, rigorous methods, and a strong argument or conclusion.
3. Reviews and Syntheses: Critical reviews or systematic syntheses of the existing literature on a specific topic or question. These articles should provide a comprehensive overview of the state of knowledge and identify gaps and opportunities for future research.
4. Commentaries and Perspectives: Short opinion pieces or essays that reflect on current debates, controversies, or emerging trends in the field. These articles may not be subject to peer-review, but should be well-supported by evidence and reasoned arguments.
5. Book Reviews: Reviews of recent books or edited volumes that are relevant to the field of interest.
6. Research Notes: Brief reports of preliminary research findings, ongoing research projects, or new research tools or methods that have potential to advance the field.
7. Letters to the Editor: Short comments, feedback, or response to previously published articles or content.

8. Special Features: Themed issues, special sections, interviews, or other special features that highlight emerging or interdisciplinary topics or research areas.

9. Contributor Information: A list of authors, their affiliations, contact details, and brief biographies.

10. Guidelines for Submission: Guidelines for authors on the format, style, and content of articles for submission.

11. Avenues for Feedback: Guidance on how to submit feedback or suggestions about the journal.

12. Index: A complete index of the volume's content, including authors, article titles and page numbers.

That's not a bad list. If I was to reframe it, it would be:

1. Editorial
2. Articles
3. Review Essays
4. Comment (or Opinion)
5. Book Reviews
6. Notes
7. Letters to the Editor
8. Interviews<sup>6</sup> (Resources?)
9. Notes on Contributors
10. Instructions for Authors
11. Index

Naturally, I had to try another take:

AH. And if I was to merge them into a single publication?

AIC. Combining a learned society newsletter and a scholarly journal into a single publication can be a great way to provide comprehensive and varied content to society members and the wider academic community. Here's how the contents could be organized in such a merged publication:

1. Editorial Introduction
2. Society News and Updates
3. Featured Articles or Research Highlights (peer-reviewed original research articles, critical reviews, systematic syntheses, comments and perspectives, research notes)
4. Upcoming Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops
5. Calls for Submissions or Proposals
6. Reviews of Recent Publications or Media
7. Career Development and Funding Opportunities
8. Student and Early Career Researcher Highlights or Spotlights
9. Special Announcements or Events
10. Book Reviews
11. Guidelines for Submission

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6. This option might be more suitable for a "members magazine."

12. Contributor Information
13. Index

By combining the content of a newsletter and a journal, you create a hybrid product that attracts not only the academic contributors but also the general audience of the society. It enables you to reflect on current social issues and give the industry insight reaping the synergies. This approach produces diverse content that promotes the exchange of new ideas and fosters collaboration within the society.

I think one reason I want to keep combining them is economics; far cheaper (and less time-consuming) to churn out one publication than other spin offs. Especially as they have to be sent off to the National Library of Australia and State Library of Victoria for legal deposit. To be fair, it is also an attempt at creating a sort of “establishment” tome and something that could be affordable as part of a subscription or membership into the VSA.

*Friday, 20 October 2023*

Although the suggestions for sections were good, what about other content? I was tinkering away with Massimo Introvigne’s draft for his Antoine Faivre obit and I thought “Where is this supposed to go” if I followed the AI Chat suggestions from yesterday. Cue another chat sesh:

ANTHONY HOGG. Hello. I would like to create a newsletter and academic journal for a learned society. However, I would like it to be fused into a single volume. It should include a section for obituaries and an annual bibliography. Could you provide a table of contents for this hypothetical journal?

AI CHAT: Certainly, here’s a possible table of contents for the hypothetical journal:

1. Editor’s Note
2. Letters to the Editor
3. News and Events: Announcements, Conferences, Workshops, and other updates
4. Feature Articles: Research and review articles on topics relevant to the society
5. Scholarly Perspectives: Short commentary pieces on current issues or debates in the field
6. Book Reviews: Reviews of recent publications in the field
7. Obituaries: Tributes to members of the society who have passed away during the year
8. Annual Bibliography: A comprehensive list of recent publications in the field, organized by topic
9. Society News: Updates on the society’s activities, initiatives, and membership
10. Notes and Queries: Brief articles or updates on research projects, funding opportunities, and other matters of interest to members
11. Contributors: Acknowledgement of authors, reviewers, and other contributors to the issue

Of course, the exact content and structure of the journal would depend on the specific needs and interests of the society, but this should give you a general idea of what it could look like.



AH. What distinguishes point 3 from point 9?

AIC. Points 3 and 9 both relate to news and updates about the society, but they serve different functions.

Point 3, "News and Events", is intended for general announcements and updates about the field and related events, such as conferences, workshops, and other opportunities. This section is meant to inform readers of upcoming events and activities in the field that may be of interest to them.

Point 9, "Society News", is specifically intended for news and updates about the society itself. This could include information about the society's members, initiatives, policies, and other internal matters. This section is intended to keep society members informed about the society's activities and to provide updates on the society's progress towards its goals.

In short, Point 3 is focused on external news and events that may be of interest to members, while Point 9 is focused on internal news and updates about the society itself.

I think it's a bit repetitive to include both, but there is something to it. On the Society News section, for instance, that echoes the "News and Notes" section used in the *Keats-Shelley Journal*, although it appears toward the front of the journal. The way AI Chat framed it, too, is sort of like the Objectives one includes in an annual report; essentially a way for the organisation to measure itself against its goals and targets. I would still prefer to merge an annual report with the journal, but that's a good step toward that evolution.

However, if the journal functioned as a yearbook, it would be a summary of a year's activities, not a financial year as per the annual report. Hmm.

ANTHONY HOGG. What is a yearbook in a journal context?

AI CHAT. In a journal context, a yearbook is a publication that records and summarizes the activities of an academic institution or organization over the course of a given year. The purpose of a yearbook is typically to provide an overview of the institution's achievements, initiatives, and events, allowing stakeholders and members of the community to reflect on the progress made over time.

A yearbook produced by a journal might include articles, essays, and other content written by members of the organization or academic institution, as well as photographs, diagrams, and other visual materials documenting events and activities that took place throughout the year. Depending on the focus of the journal and the organization involved, the yearbook may also include profiles of members or contributors, summaries of research findings, or other types of academic content.

Yearbooks in a journal context can serve a variety of purposes, including providing a record of the institution's history and past achievements, showcasing the institution's impact on its community, and providing valuable information and insights to stakeholders and interested parties. They may be produced annually or at other intervals depending on the needs and goals of the organization or institution involved.

The examples AI Chat gave were *The Harvard Law Record Yearbook*, *The HEC Paris Yearbook*, *The UCLA Law Review Yearbook*, *The Notre Dame Law School Annual Report*, *The Brown University Journal of World Affairs*, *The Annual Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law*, *The Journal of Infectious Diseases Annual Year-in-Review*, *The National Science Foundation Annual Report*, *The Yale Law & Policy*

*Review Annual Report and The IEEE Sensors Council Annual Yearbook.*

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Just thinking on the annual report issue, one of the biggest stumbling blocks to formatting is that an annual report typically includes committee/board of director reports of some persuasion. Reports from management. Well, what if the report didn't include those and it was instead published separately, e.g. a section titled "Association Reports," then there could be "Annual Report" under that, "President's Report" as a separate entry, etc. Or "Committee Reports," "Annual Reports," etc. being their own section. Barring that, if "Annual Reports" is its own section, then it would look like this:

## ANNUAL REPORTS

Overview

President's Report

Financial Statements

And so on. In other words, "Annual Reports" is the section title and each entry within it is like a separate "article."

What is important to me is making sure it adheres to legal requirements for an annual report, which seems to be covered under Public Governance, Performance and Accountability Rule (PGPA). For example, the list of requirements laid out in the Australian Law Reform Commission's Annual Report for 2022 – 2023 (<https://www.alrc.gov.au/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/ALRC-Annual-Report-2022-23.pdf>) on pp. 76–83.

However, the more I delve into this, the more overwhelming and complicated it feels. I don't think I have time to work it out and finalise editing content for the journal. However, as a bulk of pages in the current template for the latest issue are taken up with demo content for this, not to mention reproducing the 2018 version of our rules, it's going to be interesting to see how many pages I'll have to fill if I take it all out.

*Wednesday, 1 November 2023*

Had a very productive AGM yesterday. Really inspired me. The president's report I wrote (using prompts about topics to cover from AI Chat, no less), helped formulate my vision of the journal's editorial-as-a-sort-of-annual report. It's not totally in sync with the Australian financial year like the association's activities are, but it is a good format to set goals and list achievements—just like an annual report. Except, in this

case, it would cover the December to December period.

Apart from that, I contacted *Hellebore* about how they sell their mag so cheaply considering how lavishly illustrated it is. Seriously, the thing is gorgeous. I'd love to include pictures in the journal too, but the cost for the reader is too prohibitive to me. At least, using IngramSpark like I currently do. Or so I think. Maybe I've been tainted by my experience using Lulu and CreateSpace. Haven't looked into it enough.

Either way, I was inspired to reach out to them/buy the latest issue after reading Sam George's coverage of her article in the mag today.<sup>7</sup>

*Tuesday, 14 November 2023*

I'm still torn on the society/trade journal issue, but may there is another solution: why not both? Today, I was looking through the latest issue of *Massage & Myotherapy Journal* (Vol. 21, No. 4, Summer 2023) and noticed they had "Association News" at the back. Indeed, the journal itself is produced by Massage & Myotherapy Australia (billed as a "brand of the Australian Association of Massage Therapists Ltd." in the masthead located on the Association News' last page).

This issue opens with the "President's Message," followed by the "CEO's Message." That's basically content from an annual report. The events listed under Association News include webinars, workshops and Massage & Myotherapy Australia regional meetings. One of the Association News items is actually the organisation's twentieth birthday.

What makes this trade journal format prohibitive to me, however, is that it's full of pictures. I would love to have the journal include pictures but I don't want to do it at the expense of massively boosting the cost. That said, I've already thought of ways to do it that wouldn't include pics.

Either way, I feel like there is *something* to the notion of a hybrid journal of sorts, but I am still trying to crack that code.<sup>8</sup>

*Tuesday, 21 November 2023*

I was flipping through some magazines on my lunch break today. One of them was the September/October 2022 issue of *INCITE*, the Australian Library and Information Association's magazine. Like the *Massage & Myotherapy Journal*, it has its own section for association news ("ALIA News"). The issue itself gave me ideas on the VSA

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7. George, "Hellebore: The Darkness Issue," Open Graves, Open Minds, October 30, 2023, <https://www.opengravesopenminds.com/ogom-news/hellebore-the-darkness-issue/>.

8. I should also mention that, contrary to my desire to include our association's annual report in the journal and *Massage & Myotherapy Journal* offering some sort of workaround, Massage & Myotherapy Australia actually publishes its annual report separately. See Massage & Myotherapy Australia, "Annual Reports," accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.massagemyotherapy.com.au/Home/Publications-and-Policy/AGM-and-Annual-Report>.

as an information management/distribution service. It's something I've always had in mind, but framing it within a library context helps visualise it better.

What I like about the news section is that it seamlessly blends into the magazine while also operating as a "front" for the association. The association's information is also included in the issue's masthead, which appears on the same page as their editorial. More and more I'm leaning toward a trade journal format, however, it should be noted that ALIA also produces a journal, too: the *Journal of the Australian Library and Information Association* (2017–), a major influence on my interest in turning the journal's name into something similar (presuming I actually do change its title, that is). Still torn.

*Thursday, 23 November 2023*

There is actually *another* format I've been thinking of, that is unlike the formats mentioned so far. It ties in directly to something I raised in my president's report presented at our AGM on October 31st. It's something that breaks the mould of the formats I've been discussing here and something I've tinkered with previously. In fact, maybe I've been focusing on the wrong thing. Maybe the way forward isn't adhering to one of the particular "styles" already discussed, but coming out with something different altogether.

Basically, it boils down to this: journal articles-as-blog-posts. Using similar formatting, each piece of content published would be like the print version of a blog post (with an abstract, for instance, serving as a lede). That way, when it is uploaded to whatever site, it is downloadable and easily readable. With no overlapping content (as tends to happen with book reviews, for example, which are published one after the other rather than standalone), it essentially makes the journal content more like a collation of "digital" material (or, specifically content catered for digital platforms). Rather than a "Notes on Contributors," section, for instance, it has an "About the Author" or something like that at the bottom. Our "Rejoinders" or "Letters to the Editor" or whathave you, is functionally like the journal's "comments section."

I was actually thinking of formatting content to adopt press release formatting standards, but then where would this leave actual press releases? Too much format similarity. Besides, if I truly wanted to use that format, then the articles wouldn't be more than 1,000 words long; an impossibility with what I publish. But the idea behind that would be to make the journal a collation of press releases.

Similarly, the format of online news articles is another inspiration. Something that would be likely to be read by a journalist. Indeed, that is what I raised at the AGM; my desire to get our content covered by media, as it deserves to be. After all, one of the key purposes of the association is to disseminate vampire scholarship and what better way to do that than through the press. In that context, the VSA isn't just an association, or a publisher, but also a news outlet. Why just report on the news if you can make it? Indeed, I've been thinking of converting the current Operations Co-

ordinator role in our association to something like Press Officer, Press Secretary, Liaison Officer, something like that.

One area we are lacking is marketing; the promotional side of things. Probably because I'm taking on too many roles and responsibilities. But, as our primary outlet for scholarship, the journal deserves that sort of focus. In fact, one idea floating through my head has been to publish twelve articles for the year ahead, so there is something to generate media coverage for each month—but that might be getting a bit carried away. Also, I have to be careful not to lose focus of what this thing is: a scholarly journal. That said, if there is a way to harmonise those elements, that is definitely something I'm interested in.

On the blog format thing again, I've been experimenting with layouts. I tend to print them out sometimes, just to see how they'd look off the screen. To that extent, I've even thought of resizing the journal, too, so that it's A4-sized; the standard default for print outs (to my knowledge). That would make digital versions easier to print and certainly give it prominence on shelves. And, not deliberately, it would also hark back to the original format of the *Journal of Dracula Studies*. Seeing as I do layout tinkering in A4 format anyway, this wouldn't be such a bad transition. However, it would mean I couldn't do duplex printing and would probably drive up the price of the journal, which I really want to avoid.

If there was a theme behind the struggle I'm facing in choosing a format, it's the tug between a standard academic journal layout, and something more like a magazine, i.e. popular format. I've been looking at the online version of *Nature* as an example and that incorporates both elements. Aesthetics vs. Pragmatics/intent. In that respect, I'm *still* torn as the journal will be more association-centric or one for a popular market, or if it can combine both concepts (including the incorporation of an annual report). I'm even wondering if my format considerations, re: "magazine" style are *too* radical for what I'm trying to do. Should I do a version of the journal specifically for subscribers? That one would be more association-centric, e.g. annual report, member news, etc. I don't know. After completing this issue, I'm going to have to give some real deep, serious thought into what sort of periodical publications I want to churn out.

Sidenote, according to AI Chat (because I just checked it), the standard print-out size "for American printers is 8.5 x 11 inches, commonly known as Letter size." Disappointing. However, it did mention "A4 paper size is commonly used internationally and measures 8.27 x 11.69 inches." Might have to stick with what I got now.

On a member specific publication, maybe that's what the annual report could be. It could include member news to keep tabs on what members have been doing throughout the year as their contribution to vampire studies; a glorified newsletter. It would be a bit thin content wise, but it could include photos and whatnot. Then again, maybe I'm overstretching. If I was to go down this path, the best format for including that sort of content probably is *INCITE*, *Massage & Myotherapy Journal*,

etc., where it's more subtle and seamless. I've put this year's issues of *Massage* on hold so I can check out the journal more thoroughly.

*Friday, 8 December 2023*

Ok, so hear me out: an annual. *Vampire Studies Annual*? According to AI Chat, it could include articles, events (e.g. our AGMs), interviews. That sort of thing. I briefly looked at the *Carlyle Studies Journal* as one example. That could potentially resolve the annual reports issue, too.

I've been thinking of going back to doing more than one issue a year, but the annual angle, one I could lean into (since I'm currently publishing annually, anyway), might be the way forward. We'll see.

ANTHONY HOGG

## Notes on Contributors

SIMON BACON is an independent scholar specialising in vampires and horror. His recent works include *1000 Vampires on Screen*, *Contagion and the Vampire: The Vampiric Body as Locus of Disease and Global Epidemics in 21st Century*, and the essay collection “*Nosferatu*” in *the 21st Century: A Critical Study*, all published in 2023. EMAIL: [baconetti@googlemail.com](mailto:baconetti@googlemail.com)

ANDREW M. BOYLAN is Assistant Editor of the *Journal of Vampire Studies*, Deputy President of the Vampire Studies Association and author of *The Media Vampire: A Study of Vampires in Fictional Media* (2012). He regularly updates his vampire movie/book review blog *Taliesin Meets the Vampires* (<https://taliesinttlg.blogspot.com/>) and dabbles in vampire fiction. EMAIL: [taliesinloki@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:taliesinloki@yahoo.co.uk)

RHONDA BROCK-SERVAIS is a Professor of English at Longwood University. Her research interests include the Gothic, horror, the history of childhood, and young adult literature or some combination thereof. She was the Division Head for Gothic and Horror in the International Association for the Fantastic in the Arts for almost a decade. EMAIL: [brockservaisrl@longwood.edu](mailto:brockservaisrl@longwood.edu)

FABIO CAMILLETTI is a professor at the University of Warwick's School of Modern Languages and Cultures, and specialist in Gothic and Romantic literature. He written extensively on twentieth-century Italian occulture (including the 1960s Dracula craze), co-edited a collection on Emilio De Rossignoli and authored *Italia lunare: Gli anni Sessanta e l'occulto* (2018). EMAIL: [F.Camilletti@warwick.ac.uk](mailto:F.Camilletti@warwick.ac.uk)

ÁLVARO GARCÍA MARÍN is an Assistant Professor of Translation and Interpretation at the University of Málaga, and author of *Historias del vampiro griego* (2017). He specialises in Modern Greek studies and the vampire in history and literature, both overlapping in his upcoming anthology *The Vampire of Vourla, and Other Forgotten Greek Vampire Stories*. EMAIL: [agmarin@uma.es](mailto:agmarin@uma.es)

LLOYD D. GRAHAM is an independent researcher with an interdisciplinary interest in cultural anthropology. His focus is the nexus of magic, mythology and religion in the ancient and modern world. He has seventy+ publications in peer-reviewed literature, and wrote an Academia.edu paper proposing a novel explanation for the efficacy of garlic against vampires. EMAIL: [lgr89617@hotmail.com](mailto:lgr89617@hotmail.com).

ANTHONY HOGG is Editor of the *Journal of Vampire Studies*; President and founder of the Vampire Studies Association; Editor-in-Chief of Lord Ruthven Award-winning website, *Vamped* (<https://vamped.org>); helped organise There Are Such Things! Vampire Studies Symposium 2015 held at Corinth, Texas; and blogs as *The Vampirologist* (<https://thevampirologist.wordpress.com>). He lives in Melbourne. EMAIL: [thevampirologist@gmail.com](mailto:thevampirologist@gmail.com)

J. GORDON MELTON is the Distinguished Professor of American Religious History (retired) at the Institute for Studies of Religion, Baylor University. Primarily known

for his religious studies, he is also an active participant in Dracula and vampire studies. His most recent vampire book, *The Vampire Almanac: The Complete History*, was published in 2021. EMAIL: JGordon\_Melton@baylor.edu

PAUL MURRAY is a writer and former Irish diplomat, including service as Ambassador to South and North Korea and OECD/UNESCO. He is the author of *From the Shadow of "Dracula": A Life of Bram Stoker* (2004) and also edited *The Japanese Ghost Stories of Lafcadio Hearn* (2019) for the Penguin Classics series. EMAIL: paul999murray@gmail.com

CAROL A. SENF is Professor and Director of Undergraduate Studies in the School of Literature, Media, and Communication at the Georgia Institute of Technology. Her books include *The Vampire in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (1988), *Dracula: Between Tradition and Modernism* (1998), *Science and Social Science in Bram Stoker's Fiction* (2002) and *Bram Stoker* (2010). EMAIL: carol.senf@lmc.gatech.edu



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- Book Reviews (1,000–2,000 words), non-fiction vampire books only;
- Conference Reports (1,000–2,000 words);
- Letters to the Editor (50–2,000 words), feedback on the journal;
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#### Heading four (sentence case)

#### **Heading five.** Sentence case, start of paragraph.

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# Association Information

## Who We Are

The Vampire Studies Association (VSA) is a not-for-profit organisation founded on October 31, 2018, at City Library, Melbourne, “to establish vampire studies as a multidisciplinary field by promoting, disseminating and publishing contributions to vampire scholarship.”<sup>1</sup>

## What We Do

We publish the *Journal of Vampire Studies* and share relevant links to scholarly articles, book listings, lectures, conferences, etc. on our social media accounts. We hold annual meetings to report on our activities.

## How to Join

Membership is open to people supporting the VSA’s purpose. To join, email your request to join the association to [thevampiologist@gmail.com](mailto:thevampiologist@gmail.com). Add Request to Join in the subject line.

You will be sent a copy of the VSA’s rules and provided with a link to our membership form to fill out. If your application is accepted, you will be asked to pay our annual membership fee. The fee must be sent by PayPal for those unable to pay in person.

Australian residents	A\$5
International	A\$6

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Please note: membership fee is non-refundable. Prospective members under 18 will be required to have their applications signed by parent or legal guardian.

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1. Vampire Studies Association, “Association Rules” (Unpublished manuscript, October 31, 2018), r. 4.1(i).

# Errata

## Volume 2, Number 2 (2022)

### Anthony Hogg, "Historical References to *Nosferatu*"

Page	For	Read
169, author affiliation	<i>Vampire Studies Australia</i>	<i>Vampire Studies Association</i>
171, line 9	<i>Nosferaut's</i>	<i>Nosferatu's</i>
180n49, line 6	"Transylvanian Superstitions,"	"Transylvanian Superstitions," in
181, line 13	or Hungarian dictionary	or [a] Hungarian dictionary
181n55, line 2	then the the	then the
181n60, line 1	s.v. <i>Nosferatu</i>	s.v. "Nosferatu"
182n61, line 1	s.v. <i>Nosferatu</i>	s.v. "Nosferatu"
182n62, line 1	s.v. <i>Nosferatu</i>	s.v. "Nosferatu"
184, line 21	vampire."	vampire,"
185n78, lines 6–7	Hogg, "Earliest Known Use of <i>Nosferatu</i> ," <i>Journal of Vampire Studies</i> 2, no. 2 (2022): 199–205.	Hogg, "Earliest Known Use of <i>Nosferatu</i> ," 199–205.
187n81, line 1	"Jahr und seine Tage,"	<i>Jahr und seine Tage</i> ,
187n82, line 1	s.v. <i>Nosferatu</i>	s.v. "Nosferatu"
191, line 4	<i>nosferat</i> <sup>95</sup>	<i>nosferat</i> <sup>95</sup>
191, line 6	<i>nosferat</i> <sup>96</sup>	<i>nosferat</i> <sup>96</sup>

### Anthony Hogg, "On Finding the Earliest Known Use of *Nosferatu*"

Page	For	Read
199n2, line 2	s.v. <i>Nosferatu</i>	s.v. "Nosferatu"
201, header	<i>Earliest Use of</i> <i>Nosferatu</i>	<i>Earliest Known Use of</i> <i>Nosferatu</i>
203, header	<i>Earliest Use of</i> <i>Nosferatu</i>	<i>Earliest Known Use of</i> <i>Nosferatu</i>



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 Anthony Hogg, "On Finding the Earliest Known Use of *Nosferatu*" (continued)
 

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Page	For	Read
205, header	<i>Earliest Use of Nosferatu</i>	<i>Earliest Known Use of Nosferatu</i>

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 Anthony Hogg, "The True Publication Date of Heinrich von Wislocki's *Nosferat* Article"
 

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Page	For	Read
206n3, line 2	s.v. <i>Nosferat</i>	s.v. " <i>Nosferat</i> "
208, line 26	part of in a	part of a

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 Anthony Hogg and Niels K. Petersen, "Annotated Email Correspondence on Pre-1885 References to *Nosferatu*"
 

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Page	For	Read
259n8, line 5	s.v. <i>Nosferatu</i>	s.v. " <i>Nosferatu</i> "
261n20, line 1	s.v. <i>Nosferat</i>	s.v. " <i>Nosferat</i> "

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 Daniel J. Wood, Review of *With Stake and Spade: Vampiric Diversity in Poland; An Introduction and Sourcebook*, by Łukasz Kozak
 

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Page	For	Read
235, line 12	Sixty-nine ago	Seventy years ago <sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>The timeframe alludes to the publication of Oscar Halecki's *Borderlands of Western Civilization: A History of East Central Europe* (New York: Ronald Press, 1952). The review was submitted in 2021, but published in 2022.





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